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Hungarian Envoy Addresses Pact-NATO Meeting

LD3012195588 Budapest MTI in English
1910 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Vienna, December 30 (MTI)—On behalf of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, Hungary's representative addressed the Friday session of the Vienna consultation of the 23 NATO and Warsaw Treaty member states.

The speaker comprehensively set forth the conceptions of the Warsaw Treaty member states on the solution of the open questions of the document, and their position on the procedural and organizational issues which need to be clarified until the opening of the planned Warsaw Treaty-NATO talks, hoped for the end of February. Thus he touched on, among other things, the problems surrounding the official name, object and territorial authority of the eventual negotiation forum, and the problems concerning what the relation should be between the talks of the two military alliances and the confidence-building conference to be held with the participation of all 35 states of the Helsinki process.

According to well-informed sources, the delegation of the NATO countries, reacting to the Hungarian contribution, pointed out the lack of time until the conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting, planned for January 17, and the importance of the issues that have not yet been decided on at consultations, but also expressed a readiness for more faster and practical work. Accordingly, they consented to hold the next consultation January 2.

SFRY Envoy Stresses Need for CSCE Document

LD0401222389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1939 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, Jan 4 (TANJUG)—The draft final document of the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), submitted by the neutral and nonaligned countries last night, contains a generally acceptable programme of topical meetings in the framework of European cooperation, in which cooperation and security have been affirmed as a "constant element of relations in Europe," Yugoslav Ambassador Ignac Golob stated at the resumption of the CSCE session in Vienna today.

Golob stressed that Europe needed such a document and its earliest possible implementation. He assessed that with the new document, the countries of Europe will strengthen mutual confidence and start more energetically on the road of closer cooperation, bridge bloc divisions and affirm the equality of all countries.

The CSCE will now study the draft final document and carry out consultations. The final document is very likely to be adopted within the next ten days, thus successfully winding up the CSCE conference convening for over two years.

The draft final document presented by the neutral and nonaligned countries contains proposals to continue after the Vienna conference negotiations on new confidence-strengthening measures and open talks between 23 countries on conventional disarmament in the framework of the CSCE process.

A conference on human rights is also planned, as well as gatherings on environmental protection, the Mediterranean, economic cooperation, the peaceful settlement of disputes, scientific forums, a symposium on cultural heritage, as well as a resumption of the CSCE.

Ambassador Golob stressed the importance of the realization that questions of security and disarmament concern all European states and that the voice of each one must be heard and their interests taken into account. He noted the importance of regular and firm links between the 23 countries, which are members of military blocs and participants in the conventional disarmament talks, and the other CSCE member counries, in order to preserve the interest of the nonaligned and neutral countries.

Golob also cited the importance of meetings devoted to human rights, stressing that the promotion of these rights has become a "significant component of relations of trust in Europe." He also said that the document affirms and elaborates on questions concerning the rights of national minorities and the need for promoting the position of migrant workers. Golob emphasized Yugoslavia's considerable interest for the further successful deepening of dialogue in the framework of the CSCE.

Balev Speaks at Cuban Revolution Anniversary

AU0501193489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] The 30th anniversary of the victory of Cuban revolution was celebrated at a festive meeting in Sofia tonight.

The ceremony was attended by leaders of sociopolitical and mass organizations, by chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia, and by numerous citizens.

The meeting was opened by General Slavcho Trunski, chairman of the Bulgarian-Cuban Friendship Society.

Comrade Milko Balev delivered a speech in which he stressed the importance of Cuban revolution, and pointed out the significance of friendship and cooperation between our two parties and countries.

The speaker also dealt with the great international prestige of the country which devotes all its efforts to the solution of problems along the path of dialogue and a constructive approach.

Manuel Perez Hernandez, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba in Bulgaria, who took the floor, expressed gratitude for the sincere manifestations of solidarity and for the assistance which the Bulgarian people are rendering to friendly Cuba. He also described the chief trends of development of Cuban revolution at the present stage.

Zhivkov Greets Castro, Dos Santos, Nujoma

AU0201101889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Dec 88 p 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, has sent greetings messages to the party and state leaders of the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba, Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Fidel Castro, and to Sam Nujoma, chairman of the South- West African People's Organization [SWAPO], on the agreements on peacefully settling the situation in southwestern Africa, which were signed at UN Headquarters in New York.

The messages point out that the agreements have been facilitated by the positive changes in international relations, prompted by the new political thinking.

The greetings messages of Comrade Todor Zhivkov stress the constructive efforts of the Governments of the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba, as well as the positive contribution of SWAPO's leadership to successfully completing the difficult and complex negotiations. The historical importance of the agreements in facilitating Namibia's independence, settling one of the most dangerous regional conflicts, and establishing peace and security in that world region is pointed out.

Gotsev Assesses 1988 Foreign Relations

AU0101194689 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 1 Jan 89

["Bulgaria in a Changing World"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 1 (BTA)—1988 was marked by great activity in Bulgaria's foreign policy. It is also proved by the activity of the party and state leader Mr Todor Zhivkov, who had meetings with the leaders of Czechoslovakia, Poland, the FRG, Laos and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and had discussions with a number of eminent political functionaries and public figures from all over the world, said Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, in an article brought out in today's issue of KOOPERATIVNO SELO.

In his survey article entitled "Bulgaria in a Changing World", he points out/observes [as received] that in the context of the foreign policy pursued by Bulgaria last year, the National Assembly and the public organizations increased their international activities. A real contribution to the strengthening of understanding and cooperation was the important international forum held in Sofia—the 80th Interparliamentary Conference.

1988 was fruitful for Bulgaro-Soviet relations. They became more mature and now they offer much more prospects. Bulgaro-Soviet contacts at all levels and in all fields were businesslike, active and successful. Bulgaria supports all Soviet peaceful proposals and, as far as she is in a position to, takes part in the process of disarmament.

The deputy minister of foreign affairs emphasizes the qualitatively new level of the relations between Bulgaria and the other socialist countries.

He underlines that good-neighbourly relations, friendship and cooperation in the Balkans are the priority lines followed by Bulgaria in her foreign policy. The meeting of the foreign affairs ministers of the Balkan Countries in Belgrade is assessed as an especially important step towards multilateral cooperation.

In Mr Lyuben Gotsev's opinion, the useful dialogue with Yugoslavia was deepened. The level of diplomatic relations with Albania was raised and the trade volume between the two countries was increased. The process of strengthening confidence and friendship with Greece was continued. As a result of Bulgaria's constructive approach, a Bulgaro-Turkish protocol on the ways to a gradual normalization of bilateral relations was signed.

The deputy minister points out the improvement of the relations with Italy, the intensification of the contacts with the United States, and especially the first visit of a president of the FRG to Bulgaria as a material expression of Bulgaria's position that all activity should be carried out in compliance with the existing realities.

The diplomatic contacts of Bulgaria are an example of asserting the new spirit in international relations, Mr Lyuben Gotsev says. He stresses than in 1988 good results were achieved in advancing Bulgaria's cooperation with a number of developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

BCP Message Conveyed to Indian CP Congress

AU0201115989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Dec 88 p 5

[Report on BCP Central Committee's greetings message to the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of India-Marxist, conveyed to the congress on 29 December by Krum Vasilev, member of the BCP Central Committee and leader of the BCP delegation to the congress]

[Text] Delhi, 29 December (BTA)—Krum Vasilev, member of the BCP Central Committee and leader of the BCP delegation to the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of India-Marxist [CPI-M], which is taking place at Trivandrum, the main city of the state of Kerala, conveyed the greetings message of the BCP Central Committee.

The message expresses most cordial and friendly greetings and wishes for successful and fruitful work at the congress. It stresses that the Communists and working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria have great respect for the CPI-M struggle in defense of the interests of the workers' class and all working people; against the attempts of imperialism, neocolonialism, and the forces that want to disrupt the unity and integrity of India; for strengthening the economy and improving the material well-being of the masses of the people; and for democracy and social progress.

The message highly assesses the peace-loving foreign policy of the Republic of India and its contribution to the struggle for a nuclear-free world without violence, and for the establishment of a new international economic order, as well as its active participation in the Nonaligned Movement.

The message expresses confidence that the congress will have a great role in profoundly analyzing the new realities in India and the world, and in creatively solving the problems.

Further on, the message stresses the great importance of the initiatives and proposals of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, contained in his speech at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, which aim at establishing new international relations and constructing a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

The message points out that the progress achieved in settling regional conflicts confirms the vital force of the new political thinking, which ever more objectively asserts itself as a constructive approach to solving international disputes.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria condemns the aggressive plans of the imperialist states in the Asian-Pacific region, and demands that an international conference on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace be convened quickly, the message reads.

The message notes that the profound revolutionary restructuring in all areas of life that is taking place in Bulgaria aims at constructing a new model of socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It expresses confidence that the successful implementation of restructuring in Bulgaria will contribute to significantly strengthening the attractive force of socialism even more and to the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism.

The message points out Bulgaria's constant efforts to turn the Balkans into a region free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and a zone of peace, good neighborly relations, and cooperation. These efforts are a part of the policy aimed at constructing the common European home.

In conclusion, the message points out that the BCP Central Committee will also do everything possible to further develop relations between the two parties in the name of the common cause for protecting international peace, strengthening confidence, mutual understanding, and cooperation, and for social progress.

New Exchange Rate for Bulgarian Lev Announced

AU2912121988 Sofia BTA in English 0912 GMT 29 Dec 88

["Bulgarian National Bank Announcement"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—The Bulgarian National Bank announces that the following new rates of exchange between certain foreign currencies and the Bulgarian lev went into effect as of December 21, 1988:

monetary unit	per	official rate in leva	bonus rate in leva	exchange rate in leva
U.K. Pound	100	150.00	300.00	450.00
Deutsche Mark	100	46.85	93.70	140.55
French Franc	100	13.71	27.42	41.13
Swiss Franc	100	55.62	111.24	156.86
U.S. Dollar	100	82.15	164.30	246.45
Yugoslav Dinar	10,000	0.95	1.90	2.85
Japanese Yen	1,000	6.63	13.26	19.89

Foreign Ministry Condemns Aircraft Downing

LD0501152989 Prague CTK in English
1441 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 5 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia condemns the bringing down of two Libyan aircraft by U.S. military forces over the international waters of the Mediterranean on January 4, 1989, a statement issued today by Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivan Kulhanek said.

This act, which is a breach of basic principles of international law, runs counter to positive tendencies in the development of international relations and jeopardizes the situation in the Mediterranean in the Middle East region, the spokesman said.

CSSR Ready for Talks on Chemical Weapons

LD0501164089 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1600 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak Government has issued a statement prior to the upcoming conference in Paris on banning chemical weapons. The statement expresses the conviction that the attainment of a worldwide ban and the elimination of these weapons is one of the fundamental preconditions for the process of disarmament, because it would consolidate security in general, reduce the risk of a military conflict, and make it easier to develop mutual relations on real foundations of equal interests. This is also the purpose of the Czechoslovak initiative to set up a zone of confidence, cooperation, and goodneighborly relations on the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states declared in February last year by Comrade Milos Jakes.

The Czechoslovak Government is prepared to begin immediate negotiations on the removal or nondeployment of chemical weapons in central Europe, including the application of corresponding verification [Kontrola]. The holding of such negotiatons would also represent a necessary impetus for speeding up progress on the road to a worldwide ban on chemical weapons.

Further on Statement

LD0501174089 Prague CTK in English
1626 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 5 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia, led by effort to help create favourable conditions for a treaty banning chemical weapons, stated today that it does not possess, produce nor store chemical weapons on its territory.

In a statement in connection with the conference on a chemical weapons ban, which is to open in Paris on January 7, the government stressed Czechoslovakia's readiness to participate in experimental testing of agreed verification procedures.

At the appropriate stage, Czechoslovakia wil be prepared to provide all required information concerning civilian installations, including plants, laboratories and scientific institutions producing substances which will be subject to control under the treaty.

The government announced that Czechoslovakia has worked out legal measures to limit the exports of some dangerous dual-capable chemical substances with the aim to prevent their misuse for the manufacture of chemical arms.

In its five points on the issue the government voiced Czechoslovakia's readiness to become an initial party to the treaty on a ban on chemical weapons and their destruction as soon as it is prepared at the disarmament conference in Geneva.

In an introduction to the five points, the statement said that responding to statements of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the GDR's Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the West German Social Democratic Party, the Czechoslovak Government is prepared to immediately start talks on the removal from and/or non-deployment of chemical weapons in central Europe, including the application of relevant control.

Such talks would give at the same time the necessary impulse also for speeding up progress on the road to a world-wide ban on chemical arms, the government said.

It described a treaty completely banning chemical weapons and providing for liquidation of their stocks as a priority in disarmament, as defined by the July 1988 session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee. The government regarded some results of the discussion of a chemical weapons ban at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly as encouraging and said that the forthcoming conference in Paris would be a significant act in this field.

Czechoslovakia is resolved to continue striving for implementation of the proposal to create a chemical weapon-free zone in Europe, which it had addressed—together with the GDR Government—to the Government of the FRG, believing in unity and the mutually supporting character of regional and global approaches to arms cuts and disarmament, as well as that progress in disarmament is closely linked to favourable developed [as received] in all spheres of international relations.

This was also the idea behind Czechoslovakia's initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations on the line between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states, presented in February 1988, the government said.

Pluralism in Hungary Examined

AU0401131989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
3 Jan 89 p 6

[Article by Budapest correspond Gejza Vilcek: "Nascent Pluralism; Complex Domestic Political Developments in the Hungarian People's Republic"]

[Text] When the MSZMP national conference passed a decision last May to restructure the political system, many people, including party members, did not yet know, or could not imagine, what this would specifically mean in practical terms.

Sociopolitical movements, clubs, and special interest organizations are mushrooming; they are coming into existence, taking shape, and operating, yet they do so semi-legally, as it were, because the law on association and assembly has not come into force yet. Its passing is on the agenda of the current session of parliament, which was adjourned at the turn of the year.

The Danger of Two-Facedness

None of the newly emerged alternative organizations, as they are called here, lays public claim to power in its declarations, nor does it act as a genuine alternative to government policy. Even the Hungarian Democratic Forum, which has almost 10,000 members, collects membership dues, and organizes itself on a national scale, declares that it does not intend to be a party for the time being, that it is neither a pro-government nor an opposition association. "We do not want to replace present power, but to subject it to scrutiny, to curtail, and influence it," Lajos Fur, representative of the leadership of the Hungarian Democratic Forum recently declared.

Wherein then lies the danger of the so-called alternative movements? A very clear answer to this question was given by Karoly Grosz, MSZMP secretary general, in his speech at the Budapest party aktiv in a Budapest sports hall at the end of November: "The aggressiveness of the forces of bourgeois restoration and counterrevolution has increased. These forces, although small in number, are vociferous. Their tactics are transparent, well known, but dangerous because they can easily mislead people who do not actively deal with political issues. Behind the slogans of democracy and reform, they discredit the leadership and want to accelerate processes to a point where they would become impossible to control. It seems that now they seek to discredit the most authoritative body of state power, the parliament. They enforce early elections and, in this way, they would like to compel the leadership to take emergency steps. They exaggerate the possibilities and advantages of a multiparty system. They disturb our international relations. They strive to discredit and to disrupt our defense system. They excite emotions against the army and the security force, claiming that they cost too much. They demand the liquidation of the Workers Guards (People's Militia—G.V.'s note), claiming that it is an organization that is not anchored in the law.... This is class struggle in the true sense of the word.... Its outcome depends on whether we shall be able to attract sensible forces to our side and, if necessary, to take resolute action against hostile, counterrevolutionary forces. If we manage to do this, order and security will be maintained, we will overcome economic difficulties, preserve our values, and create a new, more modern, and a more efficiently functioning socialism in Hungary. If not—anarchy, chaos, and—there should be no illusion about this—white terror will prevail."

This severe criticism of hostile aspirations is reminiscent in many ways of our "Lessons" from the crisis-ridden development. It is addressed to forces which—operating within, around, and outside organized alternative associations, under the "nameplate" of others, or under their own banner, which is often masked by national colors—speculate with the possibility of the failure of the MSZMP's new, revitalized [obrodna] line and with the difficulties that hamper progress in its implementation.

Opposition or Partnership?

As was stated at the session of the MSZMP Central Committee, the newly established alternative associations reflect an immature yet existing pluralism. The statement on associations says that only the party represents a political force capable of uniting the movements that are interested in reform and of shaping a coalition of forces that can be rallied behind the cause of socialist progress. Party members should take part in the work of various associations and movements, in political life, and social discussions. At the same time the party stresses that a turnaround must be achieved primarily in production, because a more effective system of representing interests in itself will not resolve problems.

The party has not assumed a specific stand on individual associations; after all, the legal basis for their operation will (or will not) be established only by the law on association and assembly. The activity of individual groups has so far been limited to declarations, the publication of views, organizational issues, and the obtainment of publishing opportunities. One small group has staged a hunger strike and there have been several demonstrations and petitions. MSZMP leading representatives have declared more than once that the party will be able to formulate its attitude toward these groups only on the basis of their deeds. As far as extremist aspirations are concerned, the general secretary has already formulated this attitude, as quoted above.

How have the alternative groups been making themselves felt so far? Room for their perspectives, views, and attitudes is provided by a number of new periodicals (REFORM, HITEL, and the like), often under the heading of "independent" press organs. However, they also receive space in the daily of the Patriotic People's Front, in the government daily, and on the radio. At present, the endeavor is primarily making itself felt to gain publishing opportunities under the heading of openness.

Now a few words about the orientation of individual organizations: The Hungarian Democratic Forum, mentioned above, seems to have arisen out of the nucleus that made its first appearance at the time of the international cultural forum of signatories of the Helsinki Final Act when it organized some sort of an "anti-forum." According to declarations by representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the organization's place is between the power structure and the radical opposition. It is rather successful in organizing the membership base, participates in various events ranging from demonstrations up to assistance to the victims of the earthquake in Armenia, and cooperates with the churches. The Hungarian Democratic Forum intends to field its own candidates in the next elections.

The New March Front builds on the traditions of the "March Front," an association of the progressive intelligentsia. It seeks partnership with the Patriotic People's Front, to which it professes allegiance. Its founding members include Rezso Nyers, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo. The Peter Veres Society builds on the traditions of the former National Peasants Party and endorses national unity. The "Club Public" has around 500 members, mostly journalists; it campaigns for openness and declares that it wants to act as its guardian. The Independent Lawyers' Forum would like to form a "bridge between alternative groups and the power structure." The Democratic Trade Unions of Scientific Workers arose out of discontent with the representation of the interests of science by the trade union movement. One of the most active organizations is the Union of Young Democrats (FIDESZ)—it has already brought out three issues of its newspaper and it participated in demonstrations against the dam on the Danube. The Leftwing Alternative is a movement that strives for the liquidation of hired labor, as it were, and for its replacement by a profit-sharing economy. The Union of Free Democrats arose out of the Network of Free Initiatives. It espouses its views in paid advertisements and its aims include, for instance, the right of alternative groups to field their own candidates in elections. It is close to the "Greens." The "Duna Circle" used to be very active, having organized various events directed against the hydroelectric plant. It openly cooperated with the Austrian "Greens." The aim of the Union of Scouts, which has been reinvigorated by old scouts, is the moral education of young people in cooperation with the churches.... Almost 500 such groups, associations, and clubs have been established. Their intentions quoted here come from public statements by their representatives in the central press.

Euphoria of Pluralism

Writing in the journal TARSADALMI SZEMLE, Jozsef Bayer, department head at the MSZMP Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences, described these mass foundations of associations, movements, and organizations as the "euphoria of pluralism." He stressed that pluralism is no magic means of resolving all conflicts and that it only brings to the surface what potentially exists in society anyhow. What asserts itself in the end, he writes, will be determined also in the future by the balance of political and economic power. "Given that the scope for bourgeois pluralism is limited by the preponderance of the interests of capitalist private ownership, in our society it should be the preponderance of the interests of social ownership that should become the limit to pluralism. Today it is still doubtful whether we shall find the appropriate forms for this," J. Bayer writes.

Of the groups whose activity has made itself felt up to now, the majority does not show any will to share responsibility for the fate of the country. This is why the MAGYAR NEMZET has called for a "democracy of action, instead of a democracy of words." Its call has so far gone unheeded, as it is apparently more convenient to formulate criticism and demands than to take an active part in building and to share responsibility.

Knotek Reports on Economy at CPSL Plenum

AU0201120189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
20 Dec 88 pp 3, 4

["Report on the Fulfillment of the Plan of Social and Economic Development in the Year 1988, on the 1989 Plan, on the Course of Restructuring the Economic Mechanism in the Slovak SR, and on the Tasks Following From the 12th CPCZ Central Committee Session for the Work of Communists in Slovakia," submitted by Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Slovak SR, at the CPSL Central Committee session in Bratislava on 19 December 1988]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, in connection with preparations for the present CPSL Central Committee session, and after assessing the background documentation and information about the provisions made for accomplishing the tasks for this year and the next, the CPSL Central Committee Presidium decided that I should submit to the CPSL Central Committee a report on behalf of the Slovak SR Government, dealing with provisions made for the tasks adopted by the CPSL Central Committee after the deliberations of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session, but also of the ninth and tenth CPCZ Central Committee sessions and of the CPSL Central Committee session on the tasks to be accomplished in the third year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. At the same time I intend to brief the CPSL Central Committee on the preparation and the provisions made for the tasks contained in the national economy plan for 1989, and on the progress made in restructuring the economic mechanism.

When working out the report for the present agenda, we were substantially influenced in our approach by the preparations for and the conclusions of the 12th CPCZ

Central Committee session. The opening address by Comrade General Secretary Jakes, the report submitted by Comrade Federal Premier Adamec, and the discussion and resolutions of this session leave no one doubting the significant successes which have been achieved in the economy during the first 3 years, but also in the development of living standards and the implementation of the strategic line of the socioeconomic development of our society, adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

At the same time the CPCZ Central Committee session directed the attention of Communists and of our entire society—most frankly, in a critical spirit, and without exaggerating the complicated nature of the situation—toward the most topical problems in the accomplishment of the tasks set by the national economy plan and by the comprehensive restructuring of our society; it also showed the ways out of the situation, and how to continue.

We can state with the fullest confidence that the 12th session was a revolutionary session, since it decided to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress and affirmed the CSSR Government's decision to speed up the introduction of the process of restructuring our economic mechanism into our entire national economy on 1 January 1990.

The session confronted our entire society with a demanding, but inevitable task: to consistently follow the path of economic reform, to shorten the phase of gradually implementing the economic mechanism, and to make it yield specific results from the very first years of the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

In its deliberations the CPCZ Central Committee critically evaluated the course that has been pursued to date in implementing the resolution of the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee session.

It was justified in emphasizing that the theorizing, which was separate from what was being practiced, and an uncritical defense of the ideas and methods which had been rejected by reality, have caused considerable harm to our society. In order to restructure our management, we must first analyze (from new perspectives and in light of accumulated experience) the conditions needed for the transition to a new quality of socioeconomic advancement; we must analyze the interrelations between the economic mechanism, a businesslike development of economy, and the human factor, but also the ways of implementing the socialist ownership of production means, the plan-market interrelationship, and the role of economic accountability in relations between and within the enterprises, as well as in regard to regional viewpoints.

Without a thorough grasp of these connections and links we cannot provide effective incentives for enhancing the effectiveness of the economy and developing socialist entrepreneurship.

To explain these relations and to work out the new orientation, while making full use of our experience and of the knowledge acquired by world science (and particularly by Soviet science)—this is the extremely demanding task confronting the CPCZ Central Committee, the CPSL Central Committee, the governments, our theoretical workplaces, and our practice as well. We expect the theoretical institutes of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the Marxism-Leninism Institute, the university-level schools, and the entire scientific - research base and enterprise sphere in the Slovak SR to make their new and creative contribution to economic reform.

The CPCZ Central Committee resolutions and the concluding address by Comrade Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, all focus the attention of our party and all its agencies on granting vigorous support to the program set up by our federal government and the national governments. At the same time they emphasize the duty of our party agencies to demand (via exacting control) that both the central management links and the entire economic and enterprise sphere consistently accomplish the tasks adopted by the party's Central Committee, utilizing every possibility for minimizing the negative trends in our economy by fulfilling the 1989 Plan. For this purpose it is essential to make full use of the working people's initiative and of their sincere interest and support in the restructuring process in completing the organizational and cadre changes, in setting up state enterprises, and in making them capable of operating and of conducting business activities under the new conditions.

We are fully aware of the fact that these tasks are extremely demanding, both in scope and terms of quality. In order to provide for them, it is not only necessary to adopt unambiguous stances toward restructuring, but also (and primarily) to see to the consistent and responsible fulfillment of duties in our central agencies (and there above all), but also in all workplaces in our production and superstructure spheres.

We profess our full allegiance to the deliberations and conclusions of the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session; inspired by the session, we are submitting this report to the CPSL Central Committee with the intention of evaluating the present economic situation in the Slovak SR and to adopt measures for a consistent realization of the adopted resolutions.

In appraising the results which have been achieved in accomplishing the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in branches under the management of the Slovak SR Government, we proceed from the peculiarities of 1988. These are based on the fact that after the considerable deviations from the goals of the 5-year plan during the first 2 years of the 5-year period, the increased efforts of the Communists in party, state, and economic agencies and organizations were oriented (in the spirit of the party Central Committee sessions held this year) toward overcoming the persisting problems and shortcomings. The

CPCZ Central Committee sessions, and the deliberations of the CPSL Central Committee which followed them, have played a significant role in the mobilization of working collectives of our party, trade union, and youth union organizations. The creation of a demanding political atmosphere, focused on a critical assessment of the results which are being achieved in the individual workplaces, as well as the incentives provided by Soviet Communists (particularly at their 19th All-Union CPSU Conference) are having a positive effect on the effort to accomplish the tasks.

These developments indicate that by implementing the adopted measures, we will be able to achieve far better results this year in branches under Slovak SR Government management than those achieved during the first 2 years of the present 5-year plan. It is realistic to expect the planned production tasks to be accomplished in industry, in construction, and in the agricultural food complex. The goals in the area of planned exports to socialist states will also be accomplished, and the fulfillment of qualitative indicators will be improved, particularly in the adjusted value added, in profit, and with regard to the financial-economic indexes. The need of operational credits will diminish, and the solvency of some of the economic organizations will be strengthened. This will be positively reflected in the Slovak SR's increased share of revenues from the CSSR state budget.

It will be no simple matter to achieve these results, since we still have serious problems in our domestic economy as well as in our external economic relations. It is desirable to overcome the effects of these problems on all levels. That is why we appreciate the results which are being achieved as the outcome of the concentrated efforts of working people in the Slovak SR, and of the organizational work of CPSL agencies and organizations, state agencies, and National Front agencies—and the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH], national committees, and the Socialist Youth Union [SZM] in particular.

On behalf of the Slovak SR Government I would like to also thank from this rostrum all collectives and individuals, all party, trade union, and youth union organizations for their energetic approach to the accomplishment of their tasks.

It Is Essential to Achieve a Radical Turn in Approaches to and Personal Responsibility for Task Accomplishment

Esteemed comrades, we must not be satisfied with the positive results—despite the general improvement, the tense relationship between resources and needs still exists; the problems in such spheres as the domestic market and foreign trade, and in matters concerning the quality of products, the (far too slow) structural changes, and capital construction have even intensified. Neither our production ministries nor our enterprises are making regular provisions for the planned production and deliveries in terms of deadlines, economic purpose, structure, or the range and quality of products. The failure to adhere to the principles of financial and wage policy also produces tension in our economy. The shortcomings mentioned here are disrupting the balance between the size of financial resources and their material backing, and causing economic and political problems for many enterprises. This is because the practical implementation of demands emphasized by the CPCZ Central Committee sessions (to radically change the approach of every individual to the accomplishment of tasks and his personal responsibility for their accomplishment) is far too slow. The organizational changes which we are initiating show us the reduced efficiency of many middle management bodies.

In evaluating the accomplishment of tasks set by the government's programmatic statement (presented at the 11th Slovak National Council session), we critically pointed out that the ministries, particularly the organizations of our enterprise economy, are far too slow in carrying out the structural changes on the basis of the latest scientific and technical knowledge and of the people's highly qualified work. The government has self-critically conceded that although the resolutions adopted by the CPSL congress and the party's Central Committee have been worked out, they have not been fully introduced into practice, and have thus yielded only partial results. We have not effected the desired change in the modernization of production factors (particularly in the processing branches) or in a more effective use of fixed production assets; neither have we registered it in the rationalization of labor processes, a speedier reflection of the desired changes in the range of marketed products, or their higher valorization.

Despite the growing criticism from party and trade union agencies, the irregularities in production have persisted throughout the year, as has the disharmony between the structure of our production and the consumers' demands. It has proved impossible to find effective use for a considerable segment of production; this has led to an excessive growth of stocks (particularly in industry and in construction), and has also immobilized a considerable part of the created resources. Together with the low discipline in adhering to economic contracts, this has constantly disrupted consumer-supplier relations and led to the insolvency of some enterprises. The growing inventory proves to us how serious the situation is: By the end of September the inventory in the Slovak economy amounted to almost Kcs4 billion over and above the planned level. Moreover, the organizations managed by the Slovak SR Government show the largest accumulation of excessive inventory in branches belonging to the Ministry of Industry (by Kcs1.2 billion) and to the Ministry of Construction and the Building Industry (by Kcs0.5 billion, excluding nonbilled work and deliveries).

The planned inventory is being exceeded (for instance) in the CHEMOSVIT enterprises in Svit (by Kcs69 million), in the 1 May rubber factories in Puchov (by Kcs67 million), in the ZDA [expansion not known] plant in Partizanske (by Kcs82 million), and in the Central Slovak glass works in Poltar (by Kcs44 million).

On the other hand, the planned inventory level is not being attained in enterprises belonging to the Ministry of Trade (by Kcs1.7 billion) and to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food (by Kcs0.8 billion); this, too, is undesirable. On the whole, the inventory within the economy managed by the Slovak SR Government is lower than planned by approximately Kcs1 billion.

The situation is very serious in enterprises under the management of federal agencies, where the planned inventory is exceeded by Kcs5.1 billion; this particularly applies to the Heavy Industry Works [ZTS] in Martin (by Kcs2.3 billion), but also to the enterprises of the ball bearings works [ZVL] in Povazska Bystrica (by Kcs184 million), to the computer technology works in Banska Bystrica, and to the AGROZET plant in Zvolen.

It is thus appropriate to ask: How is this possible? We must also frankly state that this situation in untenable, that it contradicts the demand of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session and of the CPSL Central Committee following it: to reduce inventory in 1988. The government has instructed Comrade Ministers Urban, Steis, Varga, Margetin, and Nagy to energetically resolve this situation in cooperation with the Czechoslovak State Bank. We believe that it is no longer possible to avoid all these problems, and that they must be resolved by systemic measures.

The considerable losses, but also insolvencies, of our enterprises are another serious economic problem in the Slovak SR. Even while gradually cutting down the losses, we must still resolve the situation in the 52 enterprises which are working at a loss (during the 10 months of this year their losses amounted to Kcs630 million). Moreover, we have very serious problems in organizations of the wood processing and construction industries. For instance, the construction works state enterprise in Bratislava is faced with a Kcs100-million loss, instead of the planned Kcs70-million profit. The branches under federal agency management also include 16 enterprises working at a loss.

These shortcomings have considerably affected the creation of the national income. According to preliminary results, this year we can expect the national income to increase by 3.5-4.0 percent, and net material product by 2.0-2.5 percent. Compared with the goals of the 5-year plan, the overall shortfall of our national income for the past 3 years amounts to approximately Kcs3 billion. At the same time, we can see that this year the situation has deteriorated strikingly (particularly under the impact of the situation in enterprises managed by the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and the Electrotechnical Industry). The results could have been much more favorable had all the workplaces consistently pushed through the demand voiced in the CPSL Congress resolution on the fulfillment of programs for rationalizing the consumption of fuels, electric power, and metals, and had the consumption of materials and the demands on transportation diminished and the quality of production and labor productivity improved. A more extensive study shows us (for instance) that, according to the rationalization program, the fuel and energy consumption per unit of national income was to have dropped approximately 3 percent—but in reality it dropped merely 2.8-2.9 percent during the first 3 years. As for the branches falling under the Slovak SR Government, their set quotas for fuel and energy consumption have been exceeded by 850,000 tonnes of standard fuels during the period in question. Above all, we have been unable to achieve a more rational use of heat and energy resources, particularly in the nonproduction sphere.

Many citizens and many employees of the housing enterprises and cooperatives are behaving as though this were no concern of theirs, since they have no direct material interest in this. Through the fault of producers and apartment owners, the measures aimed at achieving a broader use of measuring and regulation technology by the consumers are not being carried out. Individual ministerial branches are not evaluating the fulfillment of rationalization programs, neither are they drawing appropriate conclusions from this (as testified to by the findings of energy inspection agencies).

Despite the efforts of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development, the national committees of the West Slovak Region and the Trnava District have failed to make striking progress in promoting a far more comprehensive utilization of the nuclear power plant in Jaslovske Bohunice for heat deliveries than has been the case so far. Only 84 megawatts of its heat output are being utilized, instead of the planned 240 megawatts.

In cooperation with the Federal Ministry of Fuels and Power, the government will assess the further course to be taken in making use of these (potentially the largest) sources of rationalization as soon as possible; it will also do so in connection with the construction of the Mochovce nuclear power plant and with the utilization of its heat energy for Levice and Nitra.

Despite the appeal launched by the Central Trade Union Council and the intensification programs, we have not achieved the desirable savings in metals and materials, either. The desired turn has not taken place here, not only because the tasks have been underrated, but because we also lack modern technological methods and systemic solutions which could help us to achieve effective savings in the industrial and construction branches. The lowest results are in the building industry, where the actual consumption exceeds the quotas set for the 3-year period by 94,000 tonnes.

For this reason the Slovak SR Government is determined to demand in the coming period that all ministerial branches and national committees personally penalize all those who persist in their irresponsible approach to the fulfillment of state rationalization programs.

Some Structural Changes Did Not Become Projected Into the Quality and Valorization of Industrial and Agricultural Production

Comrades: Industry is the sector which decisively influences the creation of the national income in the Slovak SR. In the past 3 years some structural changes were carried out, while the goals regarding the growth of production were, on the whole, fulfilled and the tasks in final production exceeded. These, however, did not become projected into the quality and valorization [zhodnocdvanie] of production. The most serious problems cropped up in the wood-processing industry. The consolidation programs adopted by the government brought only a partial improvement in reducing the losses sustained by enterprises. Economic production units and enterprises failed to make the full use of their capacities, and the wood processing combines in Pezinok, Saris, and Bucina Zvolen, the furniture factory in Vranov, and the pulp mill in Zilina did not fulfill their tasks.

Therefore, the task of the Ministry of Forestry, Water Economy, and Wood Processing Industry, together with enterprises, is to achieve a fundamental turn in the course of next year. We are not satisfied with the quality of the carpentry products for the construction sector, or with the choice and the smoothness of furniture deliveries to the domestic market.

The light industry enterprises did not fulfill their tasks in regard to the desired quantity, quality, and range. Production in the textile, ready-made garment, and footwear industries, in particular, lacked smoothness. A considerable number of enterprises were fulfilling their production tasks only by working an increased number of overtime hours and by working on Saturdays, a matter which is—in view of the high proportion of women employed—undesirable.

In order to improve this state of affairs, the government adopted measures aimed at modernizing some production and stabilizing manpower in selected centers of this sector. So far, however, these are only partial solutions. The Slovak Ministry of Industry is faced with the task of consistently continuing on the programmed course. The Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development, the Ministry of Industry, and enterprises together have assumed the task of working out an up-to-date program next year for modernizing the consumer industry and studying the possibility of accelerating it.

The chemical industry sector, which accounts for almost 20 percent of the entire industrial production of the Slovak SR and for almost 42 percent of the CSSR's chemical production, is of exceptional importance to the economy of the Slovak SR.

On the whole, the people working in this sector have been successfully fulfilling the quantitative tasks since the beginning of the 5-year plan. They are exceeding exports and fulfilling deliveries for agriculture, engineering, and the construction sector. We assess as positive, in particular, the results achieved by the Duslo Sala enterprise and the Wilhelm Pieck chemical works in Novaky.

However, not all needs are sufficiently covered both in terms of quantity and quality, for example in pesticides or raw materials for the pharmaceutical industry. Costs, especially of materials, and energy-intensiveness are being reduced insufficiently and only with difficulty. The construction of projects crucial for structural changes in this sector requires more attention.

When assessing the results achieved by the industry, one has to note that the set quality indicators have not been achieved, and that in this respect, compared with the Czech SR, we continue to lag behind.

We also cannot be satisfied with the reaction to the needs of the domestic market by the Calex enterprises of Zlate Moravce, the Tesla Orava enterprise of Bratislava, the Strojsmalt enterprise of Filakovo, and others. Serious problems with the quality of production continue despite the measures adopted by economic managements and party and trade union bodies, and the losses caused by this poor quality of products in Slovakia totaled total Kcs800 million for 1986-88. The flabbergasting thing is that, compared with last year, the volume of inferior quality production increased by Kcs187 million. Local production and services managed by national committees and production cooperatives are also taking an active part in ensuring the planned tasks. Tasks were fulfilled faster than envisaged in the 5-year plan, but they were insufficiently oriented toward expanding and improving services for the population, and in the first years, toward expanding the choice of products. This year there has been a certain improvement, but a marked increase of deliveries to the domestic market would be desirable.

In implementing the tasks of the 5-year plan in the agricultural-food complex, positive trends that ensure a balanced food market predominate. We appreciate the work of members of united agricultural cooperatives, workers of the state farms, and other agricultural organizations and service enterprises who made it possible to exceed the planned production of grain, oil-yielding crops, and farm animals for slaughter. We note with pleasure that in addition to farmers of the West Slovak region, farmers in the East Slovak and Central Slovak regions also played a significant role in attaining these results.

After the good results achieved in producing cereals, we must criticize the developments in the production of sugar beets and potatoes. The shortfall of 600,000 metric tons of potatoes produced in 1986-88 caused considerable strain on the domestic market and had to be dealt with by obtaining additional imports and deliveries from the Czech SR. The shortfall of 1.6 million metric tons of sugar beets in the same period illustrates that, along with objective causes, some united agricultural cooperatives and state farms give preference to the interests of enterprises before the national interests, and are reducing their cultivation areas. At the same time, however, this also attests to insufficient conditions for sugar beet growing. The existing state of affairs requires the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry to resolve, through intensified activity, the problem of comprehensively mechanizing the growing and gathering of sugar beets and potatoes.

In agriculture there has continued to be considerable differences regarding costs and the elimination of the causes of lagging in individual united agricultural cooperatives and state farms. It is expected that at the end of this year there will be 26—that is 3.7 percent—loss-sustaining enterprises, with losses totaling Kcs62 million. A considerable number of enterprises will take up additional credits and reach the limit of existential minimum. This strain on the situation increases when switching over to management in accordance with the principles of the restructuring of the economic mechanism on 1 January 1989. Therefore, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Slovak SR must pay more attention to this problem, as well as to issues connected with management, after the abolition of the Regional Agricultural Administration [KPS] and the District Agricultural Administration [OPS].

We appreciate the efforts of the people working in the food industry to supply the domestic market. However, we are not satisfied with the fact that the choice and the quality is improving only slowly. The process of innovation, annually presented at the Agrokomplex and Salima fairs, is insufficient because it is being implemented in production without adequate flexibility, and its extent does not affect the situation on the market. Next to objective causes, there are often low demands on the quality of dairy, meat, bakery products, and the canning industry's products and beverages. Substantial changes in cooperation with trade organizations were not achieved. The demand that all manufactured products must be processed is not being implemented consistently. We cannot tolerate such phenomena any longer. Inferior quality, the nonfulfillment of economic contracts, and the disruption of smooth supply are subjects of justified criticism by the public and mass information and propaganda media.

We are against administrative interference, and therefore demand of the Ministries of Agriculture and Food, and of Trade and Tourism, that next year they achieve—by means of economic instruments—the desired progress.

A High Degree of Responsibility on the Part of Manufacturers and Workers in Trade is the Prerequisite for Improved Supply to the Population

Comrades: The supply to the population is a serious problem, which is particularly acute this year. The 12th CPCZ Central Committee session very critically pointed out not only its insufficient level, but also the exceptional importance of motivating people to fulfill the tasks of social and economic development as well as of molding their committed affinity for restructuring and the democratization of society.

Since the beginning of the current 5-year plan, but especially this year, we have been witnessing the growth of the purchasing power of the population, which is faster than that of the delivery of products to the domestic market. This year the monetary income of the population in Slovakia has increased by Kcs6.5 billion and will exceed the planned level by Kcs2 billion. However, the deliveries of products to the domestic market will exceed the plan by only Kcs700 million. As a result, the general as well as structural imbalance on the domestic market will intensify. This imbalance was unfavorably affected, among other things, by the increased purchases by the population and by nonregulated tourism, which drained away goods worth Kcs2.8 billion from the domestic market. Therefore, it was necessary to adopt temporary customs regulations and restrictions for both foreign visitors and local consumers. The present-day shortcomings are the consequence of unresolved matters in the past. Goods in short supply, the shortage of footwear, textiles, or furniture are not problems which have come into being just this year. People are rightly asking who is to blame for this. Production enterprises, branch ministries, the planning bodies of the republic, and the State Planning Commission bear direct responsibility.

The federal government and the Government of the Slovak SR have adopted several measures aimed at improving the deliveries to the domestic market. Within the framework of the CSSR, foreign exchange totaling Kcs1.8 billion, free of charge, has been earmarked for the purchase of consumer goods and machinery for their manufacture. Thanks to the initiative of the Slovak Trade Union Council, ministries, and enterprises, an initiative has been started to increase deliveries of locally-made consumer goods, above all from enterprises managed by the Ministry of Industry, to the tune of Kcs800 million. Because of the changed lines of production, the deliveries of children's footwear from the ZDA enterprise in Partizanske will increase by 500,000 pairs. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Slovak SR has increased meat deliveries to the domestic market by 2,500 metric tons in excess of this year's plan. Imports are easing the shortage of hygienic products.

These active measures will contribute to the stabilization of the market this year and to a smoother supply to the market in 1989. However, the prerequisite for further improvement is a high degree of social responsibility on the part of both manufacturers and trade organizations for the fulfillment of economic contracts, correct distribution of goods in terms of timing and locality, energetic trade activity, and exacting controls by the national committees and the public.

Experience affirms that supplies could be better and many problems forestalled if production and trade organizations would cooperate more closely and more efficiently, and if the work of many on the shop staff would be better. After all, for example, there were no reasons for breakdowns in the supply of foodstuffs to the population. Many problems connected with their sale were caused only by irresponsible attitudes on the part of the staff of the food industry and trade. Therefore, it is correct that the economic and territorial [uzemne] state and party bodies draw appropriate conclusions against staffers who cause the disruption of the market's smooth functioning.

However, one has to openly say that the government cannot solve such problems without the active participation of enterprises and national committees, and citizens' understanding. It also would be correct to weigh administrative measures that are being adopted more comprehensively, as well as specific criticism in the mass information and propaganda media.

In external economic relations we are not implementing the fundamental intentions of the Eighth 5-Year Plan concerning the territorial destination of exports and raising their profitability. Concerning exports to the nonsocialist states from sectors managed by the Government of the Slovak SR, we expect that in the first 3 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, as the result of lower valorization [zhodnocovanie], we will lose Kcs1.9 billion more than envisaged by the plan.

The fulfillment of the export goals by enterprises of the light, wood processing, and pharmaceutical industries has been unsatisfactory this year.

Also, we cannot be satisfied with the fact that although exports to the socialist states are being exceeded, corresponding value imports are not ensured and, in particular, that the possibilities provided by the plan to import machinery are not being fully utilized. The planned exports to Yugoslavia are not being realized, although demands in excess of the plan for imports from that country are heard all the time. It is necessary that ministries and the commercial sphere adopt for 1989 concrete measures for improving the balance between exports and imports with the socialist states and for increasing exports—and their profitability—to countries with freely convertible currencies.

The realization of the capital investment plan continues to require concentrated attention. The overall volume of the tasks is being met, and in agriculture the tasks are being greatly exceeded. This year we will reduce the remaining budgeted costs of projects. However, serious problems continue in the completion of projects. It is the the fault of investors and suppliers that important projects, such as the Universal Hall in the Slovakofarma enterprise in Hlohovec, two projects in the Bratislava Automobile Works, the expansion of the thermal plant in Vihorlat Snina, the mechanical-assembly operation in the MEZ enterprise in Michalovce, and others, will not be finished this year.

A serious setback is that many completed production facilities are not achieving their planned parameters. Ministries and enterprises are only inadequately asserting measures to rectify this state of affairs. The government has instructed the ministers of industry; agriculture and food; forestry, water economy, and the wood-processing industry; and of the construction and building industry to eliminate ascertained shortcomings and make sure that they are not repeated in the future. It has also instructed them to increase demands on work connected with drafting expertise and the approval of projects, the parameters of which must fully correspond to the criteria of leading world companies and the economic requirements of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Results of a check carried out by both the Slovak and CSSR People's Control Committees revealed that losses to the economy of the Slovak SR caused by not putting into operation capacities built in the course of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and by not achieving the projected parameters amounted to Kcs6.7 billion last year, Kcs 3.4 billion of which were in enterprises run by the Slovak SR Government. In the interest of improving things, the government instructed the People's Control Committee of the Slovak SR to carry out a check in 47 capacities put into operation in the course of the Seventh and Eighth 5-Year Plans. It will discuss its results and adopt measures in January 1989.

Investors and suppliers will once again not complete their tasks in housing construction this year; since the beginning of the 5-year plan there has been a shortfall of more than 6,000 apartments, 2,000 of which are apartments built by contractors, and most of them—1,500—in Bratislava. The Construction Works of Bratislava,—a state enterprise— and the Construction Engineering Works of Trnava, Zilina, and Kosice, play a particularly large role in the nonfulfillment of the tasks. This is evidence of unsatisfactory management by directors of enterprises and of the Construction Engineering Works economic production unit. It will be necessary for the Ministry of Construction and the Building Industry of the Slovak SR to reassess this situation and draw appropriate conclusions. It is, among others, the regional national committees and the National Committee of the capital of the Slovak SR, Bratislava, that are responsible for this situation, for the fact that design and territorial [projektove a uzemne] prerequisites were not created in the initial years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

Providing comprehensive facilities for housing developments is very complex as the result of the fact that in the aforementioned period more than Kcs800 billion allocated for this purpose was not utilized. That, together with lagging special-purpose projects undertaken by national committees, has caused a critical state of affairs in some districts in such sensitive sectors as health care and education.

We cannot tolerate and just only keep on noticing forever the fact that the construction of schools, hospitals, or other civic facilities takes 8-10 years and sometimes even longer. Examples are the Children's University Hospital in Bratislava, the hospital and old-age home in Roznava, the primary school in Vrbove, the cultural-social facility in Kokava nad Rimavicou, and other projects too.

Both the Slovak and the CSSR Governments have adopted fundamental measures aimed at implementing tasks in this sphere in 1989-90. However, in view of the capacities of the Slovak construction sector, these measures do not guarantee making up for the shortfall of the initial years of the 5-year plan. At the same time, our opinion is that it is necessary to see that privately built apartments are completed. The Ministries of the Slovak SR of Trade and Tourism and of Construction and the Building Industry, and other ministries, will adopt measures aimed at improving the material-technical base in 1989 to promote this attention.

From the way tasks in the construction sector are being currently implemented, one has to come to the unequivocal conclusion that it is necessary to put an end to the practice of including particular projects in the plan at all costs, frequently even under political pressure, irrespective of the economic and moral losses involved.

We regard it necessary that Comrade Steis, minister of construction and the building industry, together with the pertinent party and trade union bodies, arrive at organizational and cadre conclusions and ensure a fundamental change in the implementation of the tasks of the housing construction sector. The Ministry of Construction and the Building Industry, and enterprises, must adopt measures which will reduce the number of unfinished projects as early as next year, as well as achieve effective results in finishing projects on time and of the agreed quality.

In addition to shortcomings regarding the domestic market and the implementation of social programs, transportation of the working people to and from work was subject to criticism heard at the all-trade union conference, and is in the focus of party bodies' attention. National governments have submitted a proposal to the CSSR Government aimed at resolving the current serious passenger transportation problems of the Czechoslovak National Freight and Bus Transport (CSAD) enterprises, as well as those in the city transit. According to this proposal, in the remaining years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan 1,032 buses should be delivered to Slovakia annually, and the largest possible number of the 226 buses which were not supplied in 1986-88 should also be delivered. We demand that national committees check the work schedules in enterprises, as well as the possibility of using enterprises' buses to transport the working people. However, national committees, the CSAD, and the Czechoslovak National Railroads (CSD) must pay more attention to making travel more comfortable, to running on time, to social issues concerning the staff of the transportation sector, to modernization and maintenance of the railroad carpool, and to economizing on fuel. No less attention must be devoted to implementing tasks in freight transportation.

Despite lower national income, resources valued at Kcs66 billion were expended for social consumption in accordance with the plan. We saw to the development of education, health services, and culture. A considerable part of resources were spent on resolving problems connected with the young generation.

As of 1 October 1988, pensions of more than 1 million inhabitants of the Slovak SR rose by Kcs1.3 billion annually.

Despite a lower national income, we could implement measures concerning the development of personal and social consumption because a cushion [reserva] created for the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan has not been completely used. We will not be able to repeat this in the coming years of the 5-year plan. This objectively increases demands on the implementation of tasks in regard to the creation of resources and the efficiency of production and distribution.

The criticism and the openness with which we point out some problems cannot possibly create the impression that negative aspects prevail in our work—despite the many complexities it contains. Such a conclusion would be totally wrong, and would only play into the hands of those who, "assisting" with restructuring, criticize everything and describe our developments as management anarchy and a situation which there is no way out of.

As I have already said, the Slovak SR Government is not satisfied with the existing situation and has adopted measures which it will concentrate on implementing in 1989. It asks the party bodies and organizations of the National Front for support and help because this is necessary in order to informally mobilize all working people for the implementation of tasks.

We Are Determined To Apply Stricter Criteria for the Utilization of Fixed Assets and Permitting New Capital Investment Projects

Comrades, with the 1989 Plan we are entering the final stage of the realization of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and the program for economic and social development, determined by the 17th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress.

The draft plan, the details of which you have in the background material you have received, was discussed by the CPSL Central Committee last July. The preparation itself is taking place in a complex situation. As we have already said, the developments to date have been fraught with serious problems to which we will have to react as early as next year. The basic prerequisite for achieving a desirable turn is to improve management and, in particular, planning.

This requirement concerns the work of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development, and the status and role of the plan under conditions of restructuring.

The implementation of two-tier management requires new relations to be established among planning bodies, ministries, and enterprises. One must openly say that in the sphere of the enterprise it is wrong to rely on the center to determine to the very last detail the structure of production and the conditions for the enterprise's reproduction process. From the way enterprises and even some ministries are acting in drafting the plan for next year, we must say that they have not fully understood the resolution of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session.

Apart from the justified demands that the problems connected with the material-technical base be solved, it is impossible to identify with demands to reduce profits and labor productivity, and increase wages. One can well ask how enterprises intend to be self-financing if they do not create their own resources. The extensive approach and demands for more manpower, energy, materials, as well as new construction investment are unrealistic. That is an issue we must resolve next year. Pressure to make full use of fixed production assets and work time, to have pay only for work actually done and done well, and a rapid return on every koruna in the investment process and scientific research—these are no empty slogans, but essential conditions for achieving the necessary economic changes.

One might justifiably say that that is something we have already said and that we have already adopted resolutions in that respect. Yes, we have, but the resolutions have not been sufficiently implemented in practice. We have tolerated the nonfulfillment of tasks, while those responsible for the current situation have not been required to bear the consequences promptly and specifically.

Going on like this would mean imperilling economic restructuring in its embryonic stages. I stress this fact because in its management activities the Government of the Slovak SR is faced with the task of changing the existing approaches, even at the risk of not being understood and at the risk of possible conflicts with some individuals or collectives. In that respect we will also need the help and support of the party, the trade unions, the Union of Cooperative Farmers, and all working people.

The 1989 Plan is a demanding one, but in view of the deviations from the Eighth 5-Year Plan in the last 3 years, the tasks must be regarded as the minimum.

When drafting the plan, we made sure that maximum use was made of the positive elements of the developments to date.

At the same time we took into consideration realistic possibilities and prerequisites, giving preference to the creation and consolidation of the internal and external equilibrium before a disproportionate and unrealistic dynamism.

The plan for the development of the economy in the Slovak SR provides for national income to be increased by 3.5 percent compared with this year's plan, whereas growth on the national level is planned at 2.2 percent. Although this dynamism does not reach the rate set for the Eighth 5-Year Plan (4.2-4.5 percent), particularly as a result of the necessary reduction of production in general engineering, it nevertheless constitutes a substantial increase in the degree to which all production input is valorized.

Whereas in the first 2 years we achieved an annual increase of 1.5 percent in valorizing material consumption, for next year the plan provides for an increase of 2 percent, which constitutes an extra sum of Kcs4.2 billion.

In addition to a clearer orientation toward intensification, the plan for the coming year also has other progressive aspects, especially in regard to the concentration of resources on the crucial tasks of scientific-technical development and capital investment, increasing the extent and the profitability of foreign trade, and better satisfying the needs of the domestic market. However, as can be seen from the results of the talks between suppliers and users up to now, in the preparation of the enterprises' economic plans there are several risky elements in the plans, as well as problems connected with ensuring sources of raw materials and some imports, completing capacities, and fulfilling deliveries to the domestic market in the required composition.

It is also desirable for the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry to resolve the serious economic and production problems that continue in the Bratislava automobile works, in the Trnava automobile works, in the Michalovce plant of the Moravian electric appliances plants, and in other enterprises.

The CSSR Government is determined to apply stricter criteria to the utilization of fixed production assets, as well as for issuing permits to begin building new capital investment projects. Also stressed at the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session, the demand for effectiveness and a fast return on invested resources requires us to pass production programs that will fulfill this demand. The Government of the Slovak SR will fully support the CSSR Government in this endeavor.

The chemical industry, as one of the sectors managed by the Government of the Slovak SR, will also play an important role next year. Regarding capital construction, both the ministry and the relevant economic management must concentrate on completing great intensification projects on schedule, such as the Hydrokrak project in Slovnaft and the plant for paraffin solvents, as well as the new plant for small-volume chemicals in Zilina. These capacities will not only ensure better valorization of raw materials, but will also make it possible to reduce imports and increase exports.

In light industry, the political and economic-organizational work of the ministry, enterprises, and national committees will be oriented toward expedient utilization of the measures approved by the government on the preparation of the young generation for workers' professions, as well as the stabilization of the labor force and material incentives for this stabilization. This will also apply to measures approved in the sphere of social and housing policy and to the efficient use of foreign exchange released for the purchase of machinery and equipment. Measures were adopted which facilitate—beginning with 1989—the more active solution of the most important structural changes in the textile and footwear industries.

The cellulose-paper industry plans to begin construction of a paper mill in Ruzomberok, which would create prerequisites for more fundamental qualitative changes in the valorization of timber. In 1989 machinery will be imported and installed for the production of tissue for various hygiene purposes in Harmanec, which will make it possible—beginning in 1990—to fully cover the needs of the domestic market from local resources.

We have entrusted ranking economic personnel of the wood-processing and furniture industries with the task of concentrating their main attention on increasing the production and the quality of furniture, windows, doors, and other wood-derived products. We call on Communists and all staff of these enterprises to react with greater responsibility toward the requirements of the Ministry of Construction and the Building Industry and the needs of the domestic market.

Workers in the agriculture and food complex are facing the very demanding task of continuing to successfully ensure food for the population under the conditions of the new economic mechanism, which is more demanding in terms of increasing production efficiency.

The fulfillment of the Eighth 5-Year Plan shows that plant production is the sore spot of agriculture, not only because of its susceptibility to weather conditions, but also as a result of the differing approach of enterprises to the implementation of the plan tasks and the utilization of intensification factors. The key task in 1989 remains producing 3.95 million metric tons of grain to ensure a reliable base for the development of animal production and to strengthen self-sufficiency in food production. Particular attention must be paid to growing vegetables, fruit, industrial crops, and fodder. Systemic measures taken by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food are intended to bring about fundamental changes in sugar beet and potato growing.

The important thing in animal production is to ensure the planned volumes of production and smooth deliveries, and to use all sources of fodder, especially grain fodder, more effectively.

The ministry must devote particular attention to economic issues; it must carefully note the impact of new economic instruments from the moment of their application, and in 1990 it must carry out the necessary corrections wherever this impact proves economically ineffective. Food for the people is the concern of all involved sectors, which is why the Slovak SR Government will demand that the employees of our engineering, chemical, and construction industries in particular fulfill their duties in this 100 percent.

We Can Cope With Our Domestic Market Primarily by Mobilizing Our Own Resources, Not by Increasing Imports

Esteemed comrades, we can achieve a radical turn in the effective intensification of our national economy only by substantially raising the real contribution of our scientific-technical base to the creation of our national income in Slovakia. Despite our partial successes in this field, we must say that the results yielded by the scientific-technical base do not correspond to the means invested in it of about Kcs7 billion annually. Thus, from the viewpoint of the Slovak Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, our ministries, the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the university-level schools, and our enterprises, next year we should make a demanding assessment of the basic material orientation of our scientific-research activities. We must reorient all facilities of our scientific-research base, above all applied research, toward accelerating the structural changes and introducing new technologies in order to raise the technical and utility parameters of products and to enable them to withstand comparison with world standards. In line with the resolutions of the Fifth CPCZ Central Committee session and the CPSL Central Committee session which followed it, we must review the basic orientation of our research, and contribute far more energetically than we have so far to the realization of scientific-technical cooperation programs of CEMA countries, above all the USSR. We must make far more effective use of bilateral cooperation with the nonsocialist countries, set up joint workplaces and enterprises, and make more efficient use of the licensing policy.

In all sectors it is desirable to support the creative staff who effectively contribute to our efforts with their work results; to implement the principle of economic accountability and financial autonomy in applied research more quickly and consistently; and to extend the stimulating elements of economic accountability to basic research units in the Slovak Academy of Sciences and university-level schools. The working collectives of our scientific-research base must be more energetic in assessing whether the solutions offered by individual scientific research programs are well substantiated; if it is found that these programs do not correspond to the demands of acceleration, all work on their further development must stop. In accordance with the work plan, we expect the January session of the Slovak SR Government to discuss these problems.

The 1989 Capital Construction Plan is also aimed at intensifying the intensification processes. In the interests of the essential acceleration of the investment cycle and of reducing the number of social resources that are ineffectively tied up in far too many uncompleted construction projects, we consider it right to reduce the number of new construction projects planned, and to clearly change the structure of investments in favor of machinery and equipment (increasing them to at least 49 percent next year, compared with the 45 percent planned for 1988).

On the basis of a check carried out by the Slovak and the CSSR People's Control Committees, a proposal has been prepared for the Federal Government to stop 35 construction projects in Slovakia. Their volume was envisaged at Kcs203 million.

The proposed orientation of investments adheres to the basic priorities of the Eighth 5-Year Plan far more than has been the case so far. Although the overall volume of investments is no higher than it was in 1988, the tasks are far more demanding, since the supply facilities must concentrate on accomplishing the increased work and delivery tasks for such important projects as the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric scheme, the Mochovce nuclear power plant, the Hydrokrak project in Bratislava, and the integration construction projects in the Soviet Union, as well as on the completion of a far larger number of building projects than has been the case in the last few years.

The tasks set for comprehensive housing construction are also demanding. In 1989 we plan on completing 26,700 contractor-built apartments, which is 6,000 more than planned and more than the average figure for 1986-87; we have also set apart 10 percent more means than in 1987 for building apartments and for the civil and technical facilities connected with this plan.

In order to avoid a repetition of the situation that existed during the first years of the present 5-year plan, it is necessary to start preparing the construction projects of the Ninth 5-Year Plan even now. The Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development and the national committees will be required to provide for the distribution of our comprehensive housing construction projects in such a way as will resolve the urgent problems in individual zones while fully respecting the viewpoints of the national economy; curb the undesirable migration to Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak SR, and to first-category cities, but also prevent the depopulation of rural areas. We will pay more attention to building facilities for medical care, including institutions for the chronically ill and social care facilities—this particularly applies to projects in Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak SR, as well as in Roznava, Martin, Bardejov, and Zilina.

The development of Bratislava, capital of the Slovak SR, and especially its transport and housing situation, demand particular care. During the last 3 years, serious problems have accumulated in Bratislava in connection with its status as the capital of the Slovak SR and with the quality of life of its inhabitants. The entire Slovak SR will continue to help build our capital. We will provide for its further development in accordance with the main trends adopted for its economic and social development and in line with the principles of the technical regional solutions. In the first half-year of 1989, the Slovak SR Government will be dealing with the problems of providing for the implementation of the appropriate documents.

A decisive turn is also required in the realization of ecological projects. Funds amounting to Kcs1.4 billion have been set aside for this purpose in 1989—i.e., precisely the amount spent on it during the first 2 years of the 5-year plan. We must reach the goal set by the CPSL Congress: to halt the increasing negative impact on the environment in the course of the present 5-year period.

The government has committed all ministers and chairmen of regional national committees, as well as the head of the Bratislava National Committee, not to permit the construction of new production and other facilities if ecology issues are not resolved at the same time. This will objectively increase the demands placed on the volume of investment means. At the same time we must recognize that the solution of many problems of the living and working environment requires from us not so much financial investment as consistent adherence to technological and civic discipline.

We will pay extraordinary attention to the realization of the Biological Project within the framework of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Hydroelectric Scheme, and to providing the general public with qualified information on how ecological problems are dealt with. Objectively, it is not in our power to resolve everything at once, but it is our duty to do more than we have done to date, since this is part and parcel of the comprehensive development of our socialist society.

Next year we will finally begin working out the election programs of the National Front, in the realization that the fulfillment of these programs will be our political maxim in the coming general elections. This also fully applies to the investment part of the "Z" drive for community embellishment. We highly appreciate its social contribution to the solution of local needs. By virtue of the enterprising work and activity of our citizens, plants, cooperatives, institutions, social organizations, national committees, but also regional party agencies, a total of Kcs4.5 billion has been invested for this purpose during the past 3 years. We expect these efforts to successfully continue in 1989 as well, when we plan on investing Kcs1.6 billion, orienting our investment more emphatically than before toward water economy and ecological projects.

Our first and foremost duty is to stabilize the domestic market and to improve the supply of products offered. This is the only prerequisite which makes the envisaged 3.1-percent increase of the population's financial incomes and the 3.4-percent increase of retail turnover in 1989 attractive, and gives it a practical purpose.

For instance, the deliveries of videocassette recorder sets are to increase by 5,300 (i.e. by 93 percent) compared with 1988; the deliveries of color television sets by 13,000 (i.e. by 12 percent); of refrigerators by 17,200 (i.e. by 10 percent); and of automatic washing machines by 3,400 (i.e. by 9 percent). We realize that this will not fully satisfy the expected consumer demands, either. Neither the problems involved in starting the production of Favorit automobiles nor our import possibilities will make it possible to palpably increase the sales of passenger cars, which can grow by a mere 3 percent. In cooperation with the appropriate ministerial sectors, the Planning Commission will have to check the possibilities of increasing the deliveries of these products to the domestic market for which production facilities already exist. We must emphatically point out to the enterprises that, so far, nobody had revoked CSSR Government Resolution No 151/1982 on the duty of every enterprise to produce at least 1 percent of its gross production for the domestic market; we therefore demand the accomplishment of this task from all enterprises in the Slovak SR. In order to improve the situation on our domestic market, we have to improve coordination and cooperation between the Slovak SR Ministry of Trade and Tourism and all production sectors. We will demand that the commercial activities and the research of consumer demands and sales standards be strikingly improved. Renewing the balance on our domestic market is a serious political and economic task; therefore, we give it one of the front places in the activities of the Slovak SR Government and national committees.

The communists among the economic executive staff in industrial sectors, in the agricultural-food complex, and in the sphere of enterprise economy must not permit a repetition of this year's shortcomings in deliveries to the domestic market in terms of quantity or range of products. In order to prevent this it is desirable to improve mutual cooperation among the trade organizations and to promptly clarify and resolve all structural conflicts. It is also necessary to react more flexibly than we have to date in adjusting the range and quality of products to meet the demands of the domestic market. We are firmly resolved to call to responsibility, regardless of social status, those comrades whose failure to respect these demands leads to the nonaccomplishment of tasks on the domestic market. We know that we cannot fully supply the whole range of products, but we must ensure the required structure and quality of what we do produce.

The Ministry of Trade and Tourism is asking for a Kcs5-billion increase in deliveries in order to resolve the situation on the domestic market.

We are alarmed by the fact that the production sectors persist in objecting to the demands of the domestic market even after the resolution adopted by the Slovak SR Government in November 1988 on the solution of open problems. The sectors are not providing for the planned deliveries of such sensitive items as footwear and textile goods, and are also not showing sufficient understanding for solving such problems as replenishing the stock of consumer goods.

In the interests of flexibly removing the problems, and in view of the complicated nature of their solution, Comrade Murin, first deputy premier of the Slovak SR, was given the responsibility for coordinating the domestic market.

Our unambiguous stand is—and this must be grasped by everybody—that we cannot resolve the needs of the domestic market by raising imports and increasing our indebtedness; we must do this primarily by mobilizing our own resources and reserves. In this we expect all producers to show greater initiative and entrepreneur spirit.

Esteemed comrades, the decision of the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress in May 1990 also involves the task of accelerating work connected with carrying out the restructuring of the economic mechanism and preparing the Ninth 5-Year Plan. The Slovak SR Government proceeds here from the demand stated in the CPSL Congress resolution: to provide for the conceptual linkage of the Slovak economy as an integral part of the united Czechoslovak economy, with the tasks of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, so that its production and economic potential will be further enhanced, its production will become more effective, and the quality of the living standards of the population in the Slovak SR will improve.

Work on the long-term outlook has entered the last stage. Next year the government will be discussing the basic directions of our economic and social development up to the year 2005, including the directive for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. A great deal has already been done since the 17th CPCZ Congress on the elaboration of these documents. Following up the directives discussed by the government in February 1988, the ministries and regional national committees have worked out their branch and regional concepts. It must be critically noted that these concepts still bear the signs of old administrative approaches. They contain many demands for further investments, but lack sufficient proof of the effectiveness and fast returns of the invested means. The greatest weakness lies in the factual orientation of development and in the lack of proper respect for the demands of effective intensification. The new programs anticipate there will be inadequate development of the domestic and the foreign market, the effectiveness and interlinkage with scientific-technical development, international cooperation, the increased suitability of products for export, and the ability of production branches to compete, particularly on the market with the USSR and the CEMA states, but also with nonsocialist states, the EEC states in particular.

It must be openly stated that the variant of the long-term outlook now under preparation and the draft directive for the Ninth 5-Year Plan still do not provide the full picture of the specific concept of restructuring our economy, which would serve the enterprises as the basic guideline in their elaboration of long-term plans. The 12th CPCZ Central Committee session introduces an unambiguous orientation in this sphere as well; it should be projected into the conditions of the Slovak economy.

In this context it is desirable for the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technological Development to make better use of our theoretical institutes and university-level schools, and of those representatives of science whose proposals provide guarantees that the plan will be feasible and that it will contribute toward substantially enhancing the effectiveness of our economy. In the coming period we will consistently proceed from the analysis which the federal government will submit to the Federal Assembly next year, as well as from the analyses carried out by the agencies in the Slovak SR.

In order to finalize work on these issues, it is desirable that the planning body, but also the ministerial sectors and enterprises, make rational use of the first half-year of 1989 in particular. In preparing the Ninth 5-Year Plan, we will not be able to avoid tackling the issue of ineffective productions, and of their possible liquidation and replacement by other productions.

This is not an easy task, since it is connected with people and with traditions. There is no reason to fear unemployment. However, we cannot afford to produce ineffectively, at a loss. In accordance with the federal government resolution, all ministerial sectors will reassess the production structures of enterprises under their management and, in cooperation with the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technological Development and the State Planning Commission, they will submit specific proposals for 1990 and for the Ninth 5-Year Plan in the course of 1989.

The government will see to it that the ministries work out the concepts of the structural profile of Slovakia's economy in a way that enables its progressive nature to make a strikingly increased contribution to the development of our unified Czechoslovak economy. For this purpose, in the years 1989-90 the government will be establishing prerequisites for achieving a more striking improvement in the quality of the reproduction process, a more dynamic growth in its effectiveness, and a better utilization of our entire economic potential.

We are treating the further development of social consumption with the same care as we have so far, raising noninvestment expenditures for these sectors (minus social insurance payments) in 1989 by 4.2 percent. Above all we are directing the resources to places where the population demands the most improvements: to medical care, school education, and culture, aiming to improve the living standard of our population. We will continue to focus our attention on the younger generation and on health care, particularly for working women, and on establishing conditions for the self-fulfillment of our every citizen.

Comrades, the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session charged us with an exceptionally important task—to accelerate the restructuring of the economic mechanism. The CPSL Central Committee and all territorial party, trade union, state, and economic bodies are paying systematic attention to the progress of work. A lot of political and organizational work has been done in the short span of time following the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session. The results vary and there have been many complications. It is clear that under the conditions of the present management system it is impossible to achieve an improvement of the situation in respect to the qualitative aspects of development, and to contribute to restoring balance in the economy. Therefore, the central party and state bodies decided to accelerate the introduction of the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism to as early as 1990. The political significance of this step, which will provide enterprises with substantially greater independence, stimulate their initiative, and thus use the year 1990 to prepare for embarking on the Ninth 5-Year Plan, also speaks in favor of the acceleration.

One has to take into consideration the fact that the acceleration is also fraught with certain risks in respect to mastering new planning and management procedures, both by the center and by enterprises. However, the greatest risk would be to cast doubt on the need for acceleration, the failure to deal with matters, and to blame objective causes for failures. This is neither a simple task, nor it is free of risk. But we have the duty to see it through. Maintaining the existing management system and prolonging the transition period would mean weakening our political and economic positions, and the deterioration of the economic development. We have to expect that the acceleration will not be free of conflicts, undesirable tendencies, and perhaps even of wrong decisions, which will subsequently have to be rectified. Therefore quality decisionmaking is of great importance. We face the demanding task of actually carrying out the restructuring of wholesale prices, completely working out a system of taxes and levies in a short amount of time, and streamlining the development of wages and the system of self-financing with foreign exchange. The general perception of the state plan and its compilation and breakdown through 1990 must be adapted to the new conditions. We are aware that for the time being we will not be able to do without the inevitable direct intervention in the activities of organizations, without some provisional measures, and without redistribution via the state budget, because the acceleration is being carried out within the framework of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Other urgent matters are to work out a new economic mechanism for the nonproduction sphere in such a way as to simplify its management and increase the organizations' interest in working economically, and to prepare rules for small-scale entrepreneurship of organizations and citizens.

We Have Begun With Organizational Restructuring

One of the important prerequisites for the effectiveness of restructuring is the accurate definition of the status and the activity of the single management central office. We have made changes in the organization of the central bodies and in their internal structure. The division of labor and responsibility among central bodies has been determined anew in such a way as to compel the center deal with the enterprise sphere as a homogenous unit. This requires finalizing the functions of branch ministries in two-tier management in particular, not only from the viewpoint of their coparticipation in the center's functioning, but also from the viewpoint of defining appropriate responsibility for the conceptual issues of the development of branches in their activity. This work is also connected with the finalization of the central bodies' apparatus, while reducing the number of their staff by 30 percent.

On the basis of the resolution of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session we have begun reorganizing the structure of the production-technical, scientific-research, and distribution base. The first stage was concluded on 1 July 1988, and further stages will be concluded on 1 January and 1 July 1989. In the first stage a total of 148 state enterprises were established in Slovakia—in industry, construction, the agriculture and food complex, trade, and in the economy of national committees. A total of 262 state enterprises will be established in the second stage, and the rest will be established on 1 July 1989.

As they were being established a number of problems cropped up, which were caused by the approved principles for organizational restructuring being ignored—not only by organizations, but even by ministries, national committees, and the government committee for planned management. After having studied what use was made of the opportunity to establish new enterprises, we note that after the abolition of 9 economic production units, only 26 new enterprises were established in the first stage; the remaining ones are based on the former national enterprises.

The proposals to streamline the organization of the production-technical base have often been approached without a thorough analysis of the existing state of affairs and without knowledge about the prospects of the organizations' development.

The tendency is becoming manifest to convert what have until now been trusts into state enterprises. Inadequate use is made of the possibility to establish state enterprises in the form of combines, with organically interwoven research, production, and commercial and other activities. An expedient differentiation in terms of the size of enterprises has not been achieved so far; this has found its expression, above all, within the economy of national committees where local national committees have been making little use of the possibility to establish small businesses.

The democratic principles of restructuring have been violated in a number of cases. Enterprises' proposals that were submitted in good time have not been adequately examined and one has failed to pay due attention to explaining positions in the labor collectives. This was the case, for example, in dealing with [the organizational setup of] the Prior state enterprise, in some food industry enterprises, and elsewhere.

The enforcement of branch, local, and personal interests at the expense of rational solutions has made itself negatively felt—in the footwear industry, for instance, in the Cedok travel agencies, and within the economy of national committees.

We have obtained initial experience with the politically highly important institution of enterprise self-management bodies and with the election of enterprise managements. All this work takes place with the active involvement of territorially based party and trade union agencies. Nonetheless, in a number of instances both the founders and the state enterprises themselves failed to pay the necessary attention to the preparation of elections. I am thinking primarily of the selection of politically and professionally qualified cadres, of compliance with the principle of selection from several candidates, and of thorough knowledge of candidates' concepts for the development of enterprises. Little use has been made of competitive bidding for posts.

All this points to the need to more effectively regulate this work in the next stage. The Slovak SR Government demands of founders, the Government Committee for Problems of Planned Management, and the enterprise sphere that they fully respect the Law on State Enterprises, the Resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat on Cadre Work in the Election of Directors, and close cooperation with agencies of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. We regard the restructuring of organizational structures as an open-ended process, in which the structures will be gradually optimized and finalized. Comrade ministers bear full responsibility for the execution of their function as founders and for the application of new forms of management in the conditions of two-tier management. On no account should they permit socialist democracy to be deformed, but, by the same token, they must not retreat in the face of unwarranted and narrow enterprise demands.

Along with the preparation and introduction of the new economic mechanism, we also devote attention to the preparation of managerial cadres, with a view to making them work in a novel fashion in the new conditions. With this in mind, individual educational establishments are preparing their curriculums for the years 1989 - 90. These curriculums proceed from the document of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium of 30 September 1988, which has been itemized and prepared for discussion in the CSSR Government and the Slovak SR Government so that it can start to be implemented.

As for cadre work in the forthcoming period of restructuring, the government continues to proceed from the resolution of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee on improving cadre policy, applying this document of long-term validity to the conditions of state administration and the economic sphere.

In the course of next year and in the subsequent period, the government will assess in an exacting manner the economic and social impact of completed organizational changes, take timely measures to consolidate the situation, regularly inform the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPSL Central Committee, and start vacating administrative buildings for the tertiary sphere. We expect the territorially based party bodies and national committees to provide active support in this context.

Restructuring also applies to national committees. One of the crucial tasks next year in this sphere will be the practical implementation of the tasks arising from the document of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium of 19 August 1988 on the tasks of national committees in the development of socialist democracy and in restructuring the economic mechanism. The chief task will be to comprehensively complete the building of national committees at the primary level and to endow them more fully with legal powers and authority. This is connected with the need to deal more effectively with the problems of cities, housing estates, and communities. In January 1989 the government will take measures of principle to implement this document. Their aim is to create by 1 January 1990 new economic and financial conditions for national committees at the primary level so as to enhance their economic self-reliance and independence. With this in mind, we also plan to expand the economic and production base of cities and communities by making full use of the authority of city and local national committees to establish state enterprises, particularly in those sectors of the economy that have an immediate bearing on the meeting of the needs of the population in the locality concerned.

It is also appropriate to ponder the question of small businesses and the activity of small growers and breeders. Their existence is warranted because their activity suitably supplements the needs of the market and services. This is testified to by the fact that they account for more than 14 percent of the production of animal products, for 62 percent of the production of vegetables, and for 66 percent of the production of fruit.

It needs to be candidly said that we still do not fully appreciate this sphere of activity. Of course, we are not interested in the formation of a new social group that would base its prosperity not on its own work but on the use of hired labor. However, we would be committing the same mistakes if in those activities in which socialist organizations—enterprises, cooperatives, and service organizations—are not in the position to fully meet demand, we failed to create scope for those who want and can contribute by their work to a better satisfaction of the needs of the population.

In the course of next year, legislative measures will therefore be adopted in support of this activity. We expect the national committees to show greater initiative in this regard. They bear full responsibility for this field of activity from the viewpoint of creating conditions for it, overseeing it, and taxing the revenues from it.

By means of legislative measures, we also establish prerequisites for transferring the entire execution of basic-level state administration to national committees at the primary level, especially as far as contact with citizens is concerned.

National committees also play an extraordinary role in managing and providing for educational, cultural, social, and health care policies.

The government will demand of the Ministry of Interior and the Environment, the other ministries, and national committees a consistent implementation of measures arising from the document of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

We are aware of the magnitude and complexity of the tasks that we will be facing next year and of the risks that could exacerbate strains in various fields. We are entering the final phase of the implementation of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and of the program of economic and social development laid down by the 17th CPCZ Congress. At the same time we are confronted with the task of completing the organizational building of state enterprises in the production, scientific-research, and distribution bases and to create conditions, in line with the CSSR Government's programmatic statement, for the accelerated transition of the entire national economy to the restructured economic mechanism from 1 January 1990. This makes it incumbent upon party members and CPSL agencies and organizations to take the lead in the consistent struggle to accomplish these exceedingly demanding tasks. We want to consistently assert the line of our party in the work of the government, ministries, national committees, and the economic sphere, a line that is aimed at great exactingness and personal accountability for the results of the sectors of economic and social activity that have been entrusted to one. We fully identify with the words of Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. I quote:

"Anonymity must not be tolerated anywhere, in any sector or level of management. Everywhere it is necessary to fully implement the principle that specific people are accountable for every product or slipshod piece of work, for every success or shortcoming. Everyone, wherever he may work, is responsible for something and must bear the consequences for it, whether they are good or bad. Anonymous criticism is turned against the party, against the Central Committee and the government. Ultimately, shortcomings and problems come to be identified with the socialist system."

We shall assert the line of exactingness and personal accountability not only in the sectors that we directly supervise, but also in developing our cooperation with federal bodies, and in providing our assistance to the development of federally administered sectors in Slovakia. In this way we want to operate effectively as a constituent part of the uniform state center, in the spirit of the principles of the restructuring of the economic mechanism.

The successful attainment of the set targets in economic intensification and in accelerating the restructuring of the economic mechanism requires the creation of a favorable sociopolitical atmosphere. The best way to convince our people about the correctness of the path for which we have opted is to achieve specific, palpable results as soon as possible.

This would also deepen their knowledge and conviction that what we strive for is in their innermost interest and that labor activity and initiative can make us overcome the current problems and shortcomings in the foreseeable future.

It is within our power to minimize deviations from the 5-Year Plan in the economy administered by the Slovak SR Government next year, to improve the fulfillment of the main tasks of social development, and to contribute to greater equilibrium in the foreign economic relations of the state, to a more balanced development, and, thereby, also to a general recovery of the economic development of the Slovak SR and the CSSR. However, for this to happen we all must be more demanding and consistent in the fulfillment of tasks.

The development of socialist democracy in social life in its entirety forms an inseparable part of comprehensive restructuring. What is involved is no fad, but the need to build on everything achieved in political and public life over the years of building socialism and the necessity to put the advantages of the socialist social system to better use.

The development of socialist democracy presupposes the active and informal involvement of all citizens in social life, their effective participation in the formation, implementation, and review of policy.

It is in our interest and in the interest of agencies of the Slovak SR Government to improve public access to information and to discuss major problems in advance, with citizens' participation. Public sessions of national committees and citizens' meetings, too, should be made full use of to this end.

Of exceptional importance for the development of socialist democracy is the National Front. We expect the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Youth Union, The Union of Cooperative Farmers, and other organizations to actively assist in ensuring the tasks of the Slovak SR's economic development. Important historical anniversaries that we shall mark next year, including the 40th anniversary of the Ninth CPCZ Congress and the adoption of the program of building socialism in the Czechoslovak Republic and the 45th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising, provide a suitable opportunity to multiply our efforts. Preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress and annual members' meetings and party conferences will become an important source of mobilizing the working people for a successful fulfillment of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and for the implementation of the tasks of restructuring.

On behalf of the Slovak SR Government and communists and other working people in the Slovak SR state bodies, I would like to convey thanks to the CPSL Central Committee and to its Presidium for their assistance in our work. At the same time I assure the CPSL Central Committee that, in defiance of the complex and demanding nature of the tasks, we shall implement them so that the resolutions of the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and of today's session are fully projected in our work and in its results in the entire year 1989 and in the subsequent period.

International Chemical Weapons Ban Supported

AU0501185889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jan 89 p 2

["-ng" article: "Urgent: Ban on Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] On 7 January, the International Conference for the Consolidation of the Regime of the Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use of Chemical Weapons begins in Paris. What is it all about?

The protocol, the observance of which is to be examined now, was signed on 17 June 1925. It was the result of several years of negotiations following the use of chemical agents as a means of mass destruction in World War I for the first time. This agreement, which is based on international law and which has been adopted by 109 states to date, bans the use in war of asphyxiating, or similar gases, as well as of bacteriological substances. However, it does not prohibit the development, production, and storing of chemical weapons.

Bearing in mind these loopholes, efforts over the past 2 decades have been concentrated on reaching a comprehensive and complete prohibition of chemical weapons, linked with the destruction of existing arsenals. Appreciable progress was made at the Geneva disarmament conference, in which 40 countries participated. Some 85 percent of the issues on an international convention to this effect have already been agreed upon. Both socialist and non-aligned states, as well as capitalist countries such as Japan, Great Britain, and the FRG, have contributed to it.

Questions of verification and destruction have not been settled yet. In order to help find solutions for these questions as quickly as possible, the USSR has agreed to carrying out control experiments, in civilian enterprises as well, on a national scale. The destruction of chemical weapons can begin as of spring 1989 in a recently constructed factory near Kuybyshev. The updated proposal for a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe, which was submitted by the SED, CPCZ, and SPD in April 1988, is aimed a testing a global control mechanism on a regional basis.

Back to the Paris conference: Convened on a U.S. proposal, its declared intention is to "reverse by joint action the severe erosion" of the 1925 protocol on poisonous gas. Since chemical weapons can be produced or acquired rather cheaply, there is indeed a danger of their proliferation or use. Therefore, a new oath of allegiance to comply with the protocol, which has been in force for more than half a century, does make sense.

However, a great number of states expect that the conference will not only confirm the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons in war, but also give stimuli for achieving, even in 1989, the first priority: the total and universal ban of chemical weapons.

George Bush Thanks, Returns Wishes to Honecker

AU0501124189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jan 89 p 1

[ND report: "George Bush to Erich Honecker"]

[Text] East Berlin—U.S. Vice President George Bush in a message to Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, expressed his gratitude for the congratulations on his election as the next U.S. president. The message reads as follows:

Esteemed Chairman:
Many thanks for your cordial words.
The election is over and the American people have decided. I am really grateful that I now have the opportunity to continue my work in the service of the public. Now that we are about to meet the challenges of the future, I am looking forward to cooperating with you in our efforts to strengthen world peace. By way of cooperation we can achieve it.

Barbara joins me in wishing you all the best and expressing my sincere gratitude for your friendly words once again.

With cordial personal greetings,
Yours sincerely,
George Bush

Trade Protocol Signed With CSSR

LD0501221389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1809 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Prague (ADN)—The GDR and the CSSR agreed Thursday in Prague on the protocol on mutual goods supply and services in the year 1989. The document was signed by GDR Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Dietrich Lemke and Ladislav Vodrazka, CSSR first deputy foreign trade minister.

Among the foremost areas of bilateral trade are flexible automation technology, machine tools, complete finishing lines, data processing technology, technological special equipment for microelectronics, telecommunications engineering products, measurement products, control and regulation technology, scientific instruments, medicinal and laboratory technology, and microelectronic and color television tube products.

The main items exported by the GDR are machines for the textile and polygraphic industries; the foodstuff and drinks industries; agricultural engineering technology, including harvester threshers; and passenger railway cars. Trams; trucks; agricultural engineering technology, including tractors and turnip head loaders; and electric motors are imported from the CSSR. The mutual supply of raw and combustible materials is being continued.

Regarding consumer goods, the GDR exports, among other things, color television sets, household sewing machines, and mopeds, and imports washing machines and fully automatic washing machines, ladies' and gentlemen's outer clothing, storage water heaters, and vacuum cleaners. The trade preconditions for tourism in the year 1989 were also established in the annual protocol.

Leaders Greet Cuba's Castro on Anniversary

AU0301203589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Dec-1 Jan 89 p 2

[ND report: "Congratulations on the 30th Anniversary of the Victory of the Cuban Revolution"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following greetings message to Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] and chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba:

Esteemed Comrade Fidel Castro:

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban Revolution, the day of liberation, we convey fraternal militant greetings to you, the PCC, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and all Cuban working people on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR.

The victory over the Batista dictatorship on 1 January 1959 ushered in a new era in the history of the Cuban people. Within a historically short period, the working people of Cuba, under the tested leadership of the PCC, have scored significant successes in shaping the socialist social system.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries, Cuba vigorously advocates the safeguarding of peace and is making efforts to bring about a change for the better in international relations. These foreign-policy activities are meeting with worldwide approval.

We state with pleasure and satisfaction that the close militant alliance between our parties, states, and peoples has proved itself and has steadily developed further over the past years.

The GDR will continue its efforts to deepen fraternal relations and expand comprehensive cooperation between our states and peoples on the basis of the treaty on friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of Cuba.

Esteemed Comrade Fidel Castro, you may rest assured that the GDR will continue to stand at the side of Cuba in a firm and reliable manner.

We wish you and all Communists and citizens of Cuba much success in implementing the resolutions of the Third PCC Congress, aimed at further building socialism. At the same time, we wish you good health and creative vigor for the year 1989.

With socialist greetings,
Erich Honecker,
general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council
Willi Stoph,
chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers

Figures on Trips to the West Reported

AU0501172489 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Jan 89 p 4

["WS" report: "GDR Publishes Figures on Trips to the West"]

[Text] Berlin, 4 January—The GDR has now published an official report containing figures on tourist traffic "between the GDR and Western countries," with a breakdown specifying the number of trips to the FRG, West Berlin, and "other nonsocialist states." According to the report, in addition to 241,506 trips to "other nonsocialist states," a total of 6,746,853 trips by GDR citizens to the FRG, including West Berlin, were registered; in the year 1987, a total of 5,059,860 trips were made. In 1988, a total of 2,790,582 travels to the FRG (as opposed to 2,219,930 in 1987) were registered, and 3,956,261 to West Berlin (as opposed to 2,839,930 in 1987). The high number of trips to West Berlin results from the fact that numerous pensioners from East Berlin and the GDR make 1-day shopping trips to West Berlin, some of them up to 60 times a year. Some pensioners from the GDR also do cleaning work or similar jobs in West Berlin. The GDR statistics give no indications as to the number of trips that have been made by persons below retirement age. In 1987, a total of 1,286,896 trips by GDR citizens below retirement age to the FRG, including West Berlin, were registered by GDR authorities. These accounted for 25.4 percent of all trips. The GDR statistics also contain information on "visits by persons from nonsocialist states and West Berlin in 1988." A total of 3,579,213 trips from the FRG, 1,972,496 trips from West Berlin, and 1,521,431 trips from "other nonsocialist states" were registered—amounting to a total of 7,073,140 visits which also include day trips to East Berlin.

Honecker Greets Military Academy on Anniversary

AU0501174889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jan 89 p 2

[Message by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the members of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy on the 30th founding anniversary: "Thanks for an Important Contribution to the GDR's Defense Capability"]

Dear Comrades, army members, and civilian employees of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy!

The SED Central Committee [CC] conveys to you cordial greetings and wishes on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the highest military education center of our country..

On the basis of the 11th SED Congress, the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy makes an important contribution to the defense capability of our socialist state, and reliably fulfills its international commitments. The more than 6,000 graduates of the military academy to date reliably fulfill their military duty in the National People's Army, the Border Troops, as well as with the protective and security organs of the GDR, in the Soviet Army, the Polish Army, the CSSR People's Army, and the Vietnamese People's Army.

Of outstanding importance are the academy's scientific achievements in the fields of the Marxist-Leninist theory of peace, war, and the armed forces and the meaning of being a soldier in socialism; the results of research concerning the political work within the socialist armed forces, the intensification of military processes, and the leadership of troops. There is a high level of cooperation with the Academy of Sciences, the GDR universities and colleges, the USSR military academies, and those of the other Warsaw Pact states.

The SED CC expresses to all army members and civilian employees of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy its gratitude and recognition of the work they do.

The anniversary of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy is celebrated in the 40th year of our GDR. Ata time when a change for the better in the international situation is beginning to show, but in which the most aggressive NATO circles continue to cling to the first use of nuclear weapons, to the strategy of deterrence, and aspire to military superiority, the socialist armed forces' responsibility for peace has continued to increase.

Dear Comrades of the academy, this is why, in agreement with the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states, you are facing new challenges for further education on the level of military academies. These require the further improvement of the training and education of military leading cadres, and great efforts in the training of young military and scientific experts. The necessary scientific lead is an essential prerequisite for this.

A fundamental condition for the solution of all future tasks is to strengthen the combat strength of all basic organizations of the SED at the military academy. In connection with the preparation of the 12th SED Congress, the decisions of the 7th meeting of our party's CC provide a clear orientation for it.

Dear Comrades, the SED CC wishes all of you further successes in your responsible work for the strengthening our country's defense capability, the comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Armed Forces, and with all socialist fraternal armies, for the protection of socialism, and of peace, and all the best for your own and your families' personal lives.

With socialist greetings,
SED CC
E. Honecker,
General secretary

Official on Computer Technology Goals for 1989

LD0401125989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0930 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR in 1989 will increase its production of microelectronic components and memory chips. With this it plans "to get the highest refining effects and scales of economy and to further increase processing speeds and reliability", stated Felix Meier, minister for electrical engineering and electronics, in a forum on GDR Radio.

"Internationally there are only a few countries which dominate the development and production of sophisticated microelectronic circuits and the technological processes and equipment for their production. Among these countries are the United States of America, Japan, the USSR and also the GDR", said Minister Meier. In the GDR 1989 is characterized by the fact that mass production of 64 kb [kilobit] chips continues, production of 256 kb chips has begun and pilot production of 1 megabit chips is being planned.

"We will continue to strengthen cooperation in CEMA, especially since the most modern microelectronic components, equipment, and technologies are on the embargoed list in the imperialist countries", stated Felix Meier.

Thus there will be increased cooperation with the USSR in the development and production of special equipment for integrated circuits, based on the division of labor, the trade of active and passive components and production equipment, as well as the development and production, based on the division of labor, on integrated circuits primarily for automation and computer technology.

"We also need our own microelectronic base because the number of custom chips needed is growing." Microelectronics departments have been established in many user combines in the GDR to develop in-house solutions to electronics problems.

This year in the GDR 70 new components will go into production. Compared to 1988 the target for chips will rise by 75 percent. In Erfurt East by the middle of the year another semiconductor factory will be in operation. The productivity of the computer and CAD/CAD technology produced in the GDR Robotron combine is continually increasing. The 1989 plan provides for 62,000 office and personal computers (16 and 32 bit computers), and in addition 215,000 foil memories [folienspeicher] and 155,000 serial printers.

Political Satire Aired on Budapest TV

LD0101232589 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1803 GMT 31 Dec 88

['New Year's Eve Cabaret' consisting of separate recorded programs: Jozsef Sass' comedy program; Andras Nagy-Bando show; political quiz forum with unidentified journalists; Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, MSZMP CC secretary Janos Berecz; Judit Csehak, minister of social and health affairs; Minister of State Imre Poszgay; Minister of Trade Tamas Beck; Minister of State Rezso Nyers; Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy; and Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth; and presentation by Geza Hofi, satirist]

[Unidentified announcer] This year there will be no New Year's Eve because we have extended December by a further 31 days. In any case things happen nowadays at various levels, well, at this level there will be no New Year's Eve. For example, everybody knows that our economy functions at several levels: There is a first economy, a second economy, a third, and a fourth economy which, by the way, is the prison economy, but at the moment the best forces of the economy operate there.

[SASS] Well, I read the papers, listen to the news on the radio, watch television, but I am in a state of uncertainty, in ideological chaos because I can see that we disclose the mistakes of the past but at the same time we are manufacturing the faults of the future. Ten thousand of our people went permanently to the West and Comrade Grosz has finally come home from Arad. [town in Transylvania where Grosz and Ceausescu met in the fall]

The minister is asked what is his opinion about the strike. He says there is no strike only a work stoppage. I looked it up in the encyclopedia, it says strike equals work stoppage. Stupid encyclopedia, it does not know the minister. I wonder when the Order of Lenin will be withdrawn from Ceausescu. I am happy, I have not got a muzzle on, but the yoke is on my back, so I dance the Kallai-double [traditional Hungarian waltz-like dance] to the music of the balalaika [Russian guitar] two to the left and then two to the left, this is the Hungarian csaradas.

Now is the time for trust, comrades, because the token of our future is hidden here in this democracy, which is taking shape. The token of our future is the pluralist democracy and this token or pawn is in the pawnshop. [play on the word 'zalog,' which has double meaning in Hungarian] How many times we heard his word! As a pioneer I heard: The token of our future is the Hungarian-Soviet friendship; the token of our existence is the union of workers and peasants; the token of our economy is CEMA; the token of our token...it is high time this pawn ticket were redeemed from the pawnshop before it is auctioned and even the sickle ends up under the hammer.

But now, at last, comrades, when our future not only has a token, but we never had such a thing during the past 50 years, the Central Committee's latest idea is: Do you know what else our future has? It has an alternative! The Central Committee met and decided that there is a choice, one can choose between A or B. There is a tremendous choice ladies and gentlemen, but you must vote very firmly and decisively; either B or A but one must not vote for both. What do you think, our future depends on it, our life is in this alternative. [passage omitted]

When Comrade Grosz went to the United States, you remember, when he had that shiny dinner jacket made, which he wore during his trip. Well, he was correct in wearing that; proved that a Hungarian does not always have to beg in rags! Many people asked me also: Now that Comrade Grosz has travelled around the world twice already, who will he borrow from next?

There are so many debates nowadays. What are we building today? What does socialism mean today? Well, I can say one thing and I learned this is as a pioneer, that first we put down the foundation stones of socialism, later we picked those stones up and now we are running about with them to and fro. [passage omitted]

[Nagy-Bando] This is the cabaret. Forget it. I would like to speak about the present, but the truth is I do not much feel like working, because of the situation. You will recall there was once a film called "If You Feel Like It, That's Belgium'. Well, they are shooting its sequel in our country now. 'If You Don't Feel Like It, That's Hungary'." If we think of our socialism, we have no right to cry; because only the winner is allowed to cry. [passage omitted]

There is an old lady pensioner living next door to me. She said the other day: It's a good thing we're not as badly off here as people in Romania, where they get 1 kg meat per person per month. Where would I get enough money to buy so much meat?

Well, it is no small affair that the Hungarian-Romanian summit came about. Karoly Grosz went, they sat down, held discussions. The fact of the Romanian-Hungarian summit itself is not to be scoffed at. But the result...Well, what should I say? It was a double-zero option. They said we have to register it as a success. Well, all I can say is what they usually say to successful people: Boys, it is when you're at the top that you should stop.

But let me continue. Nowadays they want 11,000 marks for one Romanian citizen, when they import them into the FRG. In Romania they have proved already that the human being is the greatest asset. [passage omitted]

When I was a child I had to look on Lenin, Stalin, Rakosi as gods. Well, this was a religious affair, engraved in tablets of stone. They told me that this would be forever. I took one flower to the feet of Jesus, the other to the ankle of Stalin. If they had said to me then that Stalin would live for ever, but even if he died he would be resurrected...I would have believed even that perhaps.

As I have said, people have written to me and one of these has asked: In your opinion, when was it better here—before 1956 or after 1956? All I can say is that for me it was better before 1956 because then I was still a child. But I would not like those times to return, because of my parents. I have an anecdote about those times, perhaps they will say more. An old gentleman was made a pensioner and it happened in 1954, so it sparked off a lively response. A radio reporter went to see him and interviewed him in a live broadcast. He said: Old man, you have lived in the old regime and you have lived now, and you have been working. When was it better for you? Well, he said, in the old regime. I say, old man, said the reporter, how many pairs of trousers did you have then? Well, says the old man, two. And now, the reporter says? Well, now I have one. So the reporter says: What were those two pairs of trousers made of? Cotton. What is this pair made of then? Says the old man: Well, this pair is made of those other two pairs.

What I say is, and Imre Pozsgay has said it too, those who plan the future should not rush things. Why should we always rush things? Well, 20-30 years ago, we had leaders and right away they named roads and squares after them. We do not have to be so hasty. In 50-60 years' time it will be seen whether they made the right decisions, whether they were good leaders or not. Well, there is the example of Stalinville, which had to be repainted ever so quickly. To say nothing of how short-lived Brezhnev-ville was.

Our living standards are so much higher than in the Soviet Union. That is understandable, of course, for they have been building socialism for 70 years or so. We have only been doing it for 43 years. So we have something to aim for. Janos Berecz, when analyzing the past, said: We were enthusiastic, and that is not a crime. The fact that it was accompanied by theoretical blindness, that is a mistake.

"Do you remember, recently at the session of the videoton's jubilee, Karoly Grosz appealed on the government's behalf for 4 years. Well, 2 days later the MSZMP Central Committee already held a closed session and it was on All Souls' Day [in Hungarian "on the day of the dead"] Well, I know the situation was tense, but as bad as all that...?"

"I am so pleased that at last they have realized the fundamental mistake: Ideology and economy have become mixed up. This is a bad mixture. It is as if we sat down to play cards, the dealer shuffled, and chess figures got mixed up among the cards. It can drive you mad. Ideology is only good for setting the direction; the direction must be maintained by the government." [passage omitted]

"In the spring I was sent a little question: What do you expect of the new ministers? Well, I said, much more in the way of resignation. But it was not Karoly Grosz I had in mind because the fact that he held two positions meant we could prove to the West that in Hungary you could make only a decent living if you had a main job and a second job. It is another question, that at last the Hungarian prime minister is German again (in Hungarian Nemeth means German)."

"In the old days we used to say: Socialism belongs to us; nobody can take it from us. Well, so far not many people have lined up for it, though there have been a few discounts, and now even our higher organs know this." [passage omitted]

"I remember that a certain person was nearly put in prison in the early fifties because of one of his pronouncements. He dared to say that socialism is the longest road leading to capitalism; then I have to say that we have now come to the bend in the road. It may be that right at the start we broke through the finish line, but did not notice. We are now going back to retie the finish line ribbon."

"In spite of all this, from where I stand all I can say is that we do need socialism; because from where I stand that is all I can say. I very much hope that Karoly Grosz will be proved right when he said: "Well, I hope that the land of Canaan will come." When everyone will have had enough of everything."

"Sandor Nagy, SZOT general secretary, said: The social minimum today should, in our opinion, also include the possibility for people to go to a socialist country at least once every 5 years. Sandor, Sandor, did you want to reward or punish us? We also wish you similar happiness, but not every 5 years, every year."

"I have data to prove that we are developing very nicely. In 1975 only 100,000 people asked for special welfare aid. By 1986 over 500,000 people got it, so in 10 years the number of those eligible increased fivefold. Well, if we develop like this, then in a further 10 years 2,500,000 people could get special welfare aid, in 20 years 12,500,000, in other words the entire population. So, look we have what to strive for."

[Political quiz in which the questions are asked by politicians—journalists are not identifiable]

[Announcer] The first question in our political quiz is by Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi.

[Varkonyi] Do you have any constructive idea—I have tried so many things—as to how the Hungarian-Romanian relations might be improved?

[Journalist] My idea is that we order about 25,000 large, color pictures of Ceausescu, then we distribute them among the Transylvanian refugees as an antidote to homesickness."

[Journalist] In my view we could improve Hungarian-Romanian relations if we could arrange it that bulldozers should be put on the COCOM list."

[Announcer] The next question is asked by Janos Berecz, party Central Committee secretary.

[Berecz] Is there any chance I might yet turn into someone who thinks differently?

[Journalist] In my view there is still a chance that Janos Berecz might think differently. If nowadays one listens to the political speeches of one or two political leaders, their television statements, one after the other, then one has the impression that the person concerned always thinks differently from one time to the next about one and the same topic. In any case, in my opinion, the trouble is not with those who think differently but with those whom I would describe as not thinking even differently. There are so many of them, that if one day they form themselves into a party, then they will have a considerable mass foundation."

[Journalist] As far as I am concerned, he is welcome to think any way he likes, only not this way.

[Announcer] Judit Csehak, minister of social and health affairs.

[Csehak] How is your blood-pressure nowadays?

[Journalist] Well, mine goes up with the prices."

[Anouncer] Minister of state Imre Pozsgay.

[Pozsgay] What is your opinion? Is the government master of the situation, or is the situation master of the government?

[Journalist] What I am afraid of, gentlemen, is that if a minister of state puts this question to us, then there must be quite a lot of uncertainty up there at the top.

[Journalist] My experience in the West has shown that out there, and perhaps I would like to give this warning, there are so-called shadow governments, which come to power only when the the government is no more than a shadow of itself."

[Journalist] The question is imprecise. The situation is master of the govrnment, and the government is comrade to the situation."

[Annoncer] Minister of Trade Tamas Beck.

[Beck] According to the British Finance Minister, restructuring has been going on in Britain for 700 years, since the Magna Carta. Why do the esteemed representatives of the Hungarian press imagine that we would get it in the bag within a year or two?

[Journalist] Because in our country, including the Turks, the Tartars and the Hapsburgs, no regime has lasted 700 years."

[Journalist] I have to disappoint Tamas Beck; of this government nobody believes that it will have it in the bag in a year or two."

[Journalist] I think this is a historic moment. At last we have seen an active Hungarian minister who has admitted that we are 700 years behind."

[Journalist] I do not think either that we will shortly have it in the bag, because, to begin with, we have no bag."

[Announcer] Minister of State Rezso Nyers.

[Nyers] How could we imitate the Japanese example? How could we become the land of the rising forint?"

[Journalist] I like this expression: land of the rising forint, there is no problem."

[Nyers] What would you do if you were moved onto the sidelines? [he had been ousted from the MSZMP Politburo in 1975, reinstated this May]

[Journalist] Well, I would look around for a country that is also on the sidelines; but first I would check whether it was in the East or West."

[Journalist] I would go and ask Rezso Nyers for advice; I would ask him what I should do with my life during those 15 years while I am on the sidelines."

[Announcer] And now I propose we listen with great respect and attention, because the next question is asked by deputy premier Peter Medgyessy [former minister of finance, involved in scandal over misappropriated funds].

[Medgyessy] What office would you not accept at present?

[Journalist] Well, at the moment I would not like to be a chairman of a tenants' committee in the Finance Ministry's building on Lorant Street."

[Journalist] I would not like to be a confessor to overthrown party people."

[Announcer] Istvan Stadinger, speaker of the National Assembly.

[Stadinger] In what position would the journalists vote on the topics about which they have written and spoken so much?

[Journalist] In a lying position, naturally, for in the Hungarian parliament there is an extremely great and progressive tradition for lying down. So, I would lie down and then I would go to sleep, I might even say I would sleep all the way through, and I would dream that even Istvan Stadinger's strident voice would not be able to wake me." [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Now Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

[Nemeth] If we consider the extent of our state debt, if I were to enter a tennis contest with a prize money at the end, would this help to reduce the state debt?

[Journalist] I think it would be a good thing if the Prime Minister were to enter such a tennis contest, but my view is that if possible he should play doubles with a convertible partner, and if possible he should not fail on the serve. In any case he should get moving, because in the event of an unsuccessful match, our sponsors might withdraw confidence from us. This would be a disaster, because as the prime minister also knows, there is nothing in reserve."

[Journalist] Well, this idea of doubles is a good one. The Prime Minister will have to choose whether he plays with Ivan or John.

[Journalist] If I look at the extent of our state debt, then we here in Hungary, in the post of prime minister, would need at least a Boris Becker.

[Nemeth] What kind of small enterprise would you make out of the Council of Ministers?

[Journalist] Mr Prime Minister, your organization has always stood its ground as a KFT [Korlatolt Felelossegu Tarsasag], in other words, as an extremely limited liability company.

[Journalist] I would turn the Council of Ministers into a small enterprise for organizing demonstrations. Then the demonstrations would not have to be banned; it would be enough to put a hefty tax on them.

[Journalist] I am sorry, but I must be lacking in imagination. I cannot even imagine an enterprise smaller than the Council of Ministers." [passage omitted]

[Hofi] So many things will happen. I told my mother: Imagine, we will live in a constitutional state. She asks: Really? Where do we have to move, then? [passage omitted]

Ivan goes into a pub in the USSR, puts one ruble on the counter, and asks for a beer. The barman takes the ruble and gives back 50 kopeks. Why are you giving me back 50 kopeks, which you have never done before? Oh, this is the big transformation everybody talks about. The barman says: Yes, except there is no beer now. [passage omitted]

President Delivers New Year Message

AU0401144789 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Jan 89 p 3

[MTI-attributed New Year radio and television message by Presidential Council President Bruno F. Straub: "Work That Creates Values Is the Basis of Our National Self-Esteem"]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens!
Dear viewers and listeners!
As we tear off the last page of the 1988 calendar and we face the date of 1 January 1989, just like other hundreds of millions of people in the world, we, too, are taking a look at ourselves. What have we achieved and what have we failed to achieve in the year that has just ended? We are pondering over it and solemnly declaring how we intend to act in the new year.

Facing our past and our future means one thing to the young people and another thing to the older people. Hope and confidence, experience, and the experience of success and failure emerge in varying degrees in the new year thoughts of the young people and the older people. These various experiences and desires make up the mood of our nation, and these factors will determine the extent to which we can fulfill today the requirements of the future.

It can give us strength that it is up to us to choose the new directions for the future, and if we have the necessary endurance in our work, the new year could be better than the previous one.

Hungary and its people left a difficult year behind, but also one which had beautiful prospects and rich decisions. As a result of considerable sacrifices on the part of our people, new directions of economic development and of social and political life have emerged which provide a more promising way than ever toward the creation of a really democratic and socialist Hungary. The favorable developments in the international situation, the increased East-West dialogue, and the long-desired detente could further encourage us to eliminate some of our past mistakes.

The main efforts of mankind nowadays are focused on peace and on rapprochement between different social orders and countries to benefit of prosperity as well as of an increasing implementation of human rights.

Being aware of this, our people welcome the New Year message delivered by Pope John Paul II—whom we will be able to greet as our guest in a year or two—in which he calls upon mankind to respect the rights of national and ethnic minorities and to preserve their national cultural values and traditions, also stressing that it is the task and responsibility of the states to guarantee these rights.

We, Hungarians, are particularly sensitive to the problems of national and ethnic minorities, because one-third of the Hungarians are living beyond our borders, often deprived of their national minority rights. Our state bears responsibility for every Hungarian and for each piece of our national cultural values anywhere in the world.

At the same time, by guaranteeing the rights of national and ethnic minorities living in Hungary, we intend to increasingly support them in preserving and developing their mother tongue and their cultural values, and in strengthening their contacts with their mother nations. It encourages us that the world public opinion agrees with our endeavors.

However, only performance and human activity that creates values can provide a real basis for increasing Hungary's international prestige and our national self-esteem. There have always been individuals in this country who have put on great intellectual performances and millions with their resolute everyday work who kept this nation afloat even amid the greatest upheavals of history, and who preserved this nation's statehood here in the Carpathian Basin for more than 1,000 years. This nation owes a lot to its border soldiers, its artisans, its townfolk, and, perhaps the most to its village peasants who once made up the largest strata of the population, and who not only cultivated their land wisely, but also preserved our mother tongue, as the major source of our national existence and awareness.

When we take a look today, in the new historical stage of crises and changes, at this strata smaller in numbers but equal in their importance, we can only speak with respect about the peasants. On the occasion of the New Year, I wish them not only greater happiness and profit in their work, but also that they are able to hand down that work attitude which their predecessors had bestowed upon them.

Our country's workers, the people working in factories, enterprises, and mines, and the people employed in services feel, perhaps more than any other strata, the importance of restructuring in our economy and production, the danger of losing their current jobs, and the difficulties inherent in acquiring new skills and getting a new job. Although it is not their fault, they are the ones who carry the bulk of the burdens of obsolete production technologies that make more losses than profits and of the inadequate raw material and work conditions.

In this new year, I wish them success in carrying out the tasks deriving from the changes with their traditional workers consciousness, by serving both their own interests and our country's development.

The success of our economic and political reform processes greatly depends on the intellectuals, the heads of various areas, and on the new, sensitive entrepreneurs who are also ready to take risks, namely, on people who carry values and who senselessly lost their prestige in recent decades. In their activity this year, these people should be led by the awareness that our society has realized and has become aware of the key role played by intellectual performance, and our society is now trying to honor this intellectual performance both financially and materially, in accordance to its possibilities.

Esteemed fellow citizens!

All I can wish every Hungarian citizen, and all of us is peace, internal peace, including a nationwide consensus. I believe that our people cannot only tackle the myriad of economic and production problems and the tasks of restructuring, but they are also mature enough to face democratization, political plurality, and the clear expression of various interests. Our people are able to think and act freely in our age full of economic, political, and social tensions in a way that, meanwhile, they do not lose their direction: They do not replace democracy with anarchy and freedom with libertinism. They also refrain from rejecting the values that we have created so far in our search for the road leading to socialism. At the same time, I hope that mutual patience and the desire to act will lead us in the new year.

In this hope, I wish my fellow citizens, our Hungarian brothers who live beyond our borders, and all our friends a peaceful New Year rich in common and personal successes and leading to happiness and humaneness!

Straub Receives Order of the Banner

LD0501142689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 5 Jan

[Excerpts] Bruno F. Straub, the 75-year-old president of the Presidential Council, has been awarded Hungary's Order of the Banner, with rubies. The decoration was presented by Istvan Sarlos, vice president of the Presidential Council, in the presence of Karoly Grosz, Istvan Stadinger, and Miklos Nemeth. Now we have a brief birthday interview. The reporter is Attila Balint.

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted]

[Straub] When one is old, he cannot compete with young people in science, because they know better what must be done. One can encourage them and also look into things which I previously did not have time for—there they are in my library. Well, that is not how things turned out. I have had to learn something different. I accepted it, and I try to learn the art of this, because this, after all, is an interesting problem and an interesting task. For all that, it still feels good to go among young people and converse with them. And they relate their objections vis-a-vis the president of the Presidential Council.

[Balint] It can be heard that there is not much reckoning with the Presidential Council, as a body, as regards the future.

[Straub] Yes, that is in the future—it will take shape in 1 or 2 years. At present I consider that this assignment will last for the duration of parliament's mandate—until the elections in 1990, when naturally, something entirely different will follow.

[Balint] You consider this to be natural?

[Straub] Of course, and if it is transformed, I will very willingly give an account about all the experience which I have gained in the meantime. [end recording]

Council of Ministers Session Concludes

Post-Session Briefing Held

LD0201220289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan press briefing following the Council of Ministers session]

[Text] I think that the year 1989 will be of decisive significance from the viewpoint of the country's development. Perhaps it is no exaggeration, either, that the historian of the future will regard the year ahead of us as the year of turnabout. The country is finally leaving behind an outdated social, economic and political model, which is unable to take advantage of the possibilities of development. At the same time, we are irrevocably setting off on the path of shaping a new social-economic model of a socialist character. We hope that this new model will be capable of ensuring economic effectiveness, freer and more democratic social relations and institutions, and also of ensuring the assertion of values which are considered to be socialist.

If we only look at the year ahead of us, the economic and political legal order will nearly fundamentally be formed anew. In the economy, the company law will finally begin to operate. The so-called transformation law [atalakulasi toerveny] may multiply its effect. On the basis of the law pertaining to foreigners' investments in Hungary, the influx of functioning capital will accelerate. We shall take considerable steps on the path to achieving a wages reform and a budget reform. Probably, the stock exchange will also begin to operate.

In politics, in the sphere of guaranteeing citizens' rights, in the transformation of the state organizations, laws of fundamental importance will be adopted such as the law on the right of association and assembly, laws on referendum, on the right to strike, on the nationalities, on information and on the party. However, a law will be created on the administrative tribunal, on the introduction of a constitution court, and the draft of the new constitution will also probably be completed.

The internal interrelations of the economic model which is now being formed anew are determined by the logic of the market. We can state, on the basis of experiences of the past decades, that the market must be given a fundamental role in the organization and coordination of the economy. It has proved true innumerable times that it is impossible to eliminate, against the market the economic disturbances; yet if this true, the particular logic of it and the contradictions springing from it must be accepted.

The traditional economic model and the one which is now being formed diverge fundamentally in many things. To give but one example: Traditionally, prices were determined by central direction. However, in the new model, prices are determined on the market. It follows from this that the government now does not determine prices exclusively, nor does it do so directly. On the one hand, from the outset the development of prices is circumscribed by the country's economic performance, by the amount of budget deficit, by subsidies, or the program to cut back subsidies. On the other hand, the development of prices does not depend solely on government. A decisive influence and impact on them is exerted by the government's partners, by interest-representation organizations, and by the National Assembly.

On the basis of a submission by the chairman of the National Prices Office, the Council of Ministers today determined the 1989 price policy guidelines, and it passed a decision on central price measures. The sphere of free prices will expand, there will be less intervention by price authorities. The change in taxation conditions and the reduction in subsidies will be asserted in prices, also taking market conditions into account.

According to the People's Economic Plan, in 1989, the consumers' price level will rise at the most by 15 percent, more moderately than that of the year 1988. At the beginning of the year, there will be consumers' price measures of significant impact, in a sphere representing some one-quarter of the population's purchases. The prices of foodstuffs, of certain household chemical industry products, of medicines and medical tools, and of motor cars will rise, as will the charges for television subscriptions, for transport, telecommunications and postal services. After appropriate preparation, there will be a large-scale raising of charges in water and sewage services. After the heating season, household energy carriers will also become more expensive. A statement will be published on these measures in the coming days, and competent authorities are planning a press briefing.

During the year, further price rises are expected in free-price products and services. The population will be given information, according to the hitherto system, on price development and on important price changes during the year. The government undertakes a commitment that beyond what has been listed so far, if conditions do not shape up differently it will not pass inflation-generating measures. The Council of Ministers also laid down unequivocally in the 1989 plan targets that three-quarters of the rising cost of basic products and services must be countervailed among those partaking in pensions and social provisions. Accordingly, pensions and pension-like regular provisions, marriage supplement, child-care assistance, and conscripts' family benefit will increase by 360 forints in January, and by a further 100 forints in May. The pension of people over the age of 70 years and those belonging to some other singled-out categories cannot be less than 3,500 forints [per month], as from January.

The differnces in minimum pensions, according to social stratum, will cease to exist. Family supplement and grants [for university studies] will increase by 300 forints [per month], as from January. The entire sphere of skilled-worker apprentices will become entitled to family supplement. The reimbursement charges of children's institutions will be adjusted to the raised food and raw material norms. The possibilities for council-social support will also expand. It is also the government's intention that by lifting economic restrictions, by partially liberalizing imports of consumer items, there must be an improvement in supply. By livening up market competition, a (?broader) selection of cheap items, in accordance with the earnings of those with low incomes, must be facilitated.

New Appointments Made

LD0501153389 Budapest MTI in English
1429 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 5 (MTI)—The Council of Ministers has appointed Dr Bela Havasi deputy minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Lajos Komar vice-president of the National Bank of Hungary, Elek Straub, vice-president of the Central Statistical Office, Peter Szonyi deputy minister, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers for International Economic Cooperation, and Dr Laszlo Varga-Sabjan and Dr Laszlo Vass vice-presidents of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

National Assembly Responds to Papal Message

LD0201124589 Budapest MTI in English
1034 GMT 2 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 2 (MTI)—The latest session of the Hungarian National Assembly heard a report on the New Year's message of Pope John Paul II, speaking out for the observance of national minority rights. The National Assembly commissioned its Foreign Affairs Committee to formulate and publicize the parliamentary position on the pope's peace message. The National Assembly has forwarded the document to the Hungarian news agency.

According to it, the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic welcomes the international peace day message of January 1 by Pope John Paul II, and considers it a major move promoting the peaceful coexistence of all states and peoples. It agrees that holding in respect the rights of ethnic, national and religious minorities is an indispensable precondition for safeguarding peace, and the personal and collective minority rights constitute a particularly important part of general human rights. Parliament expresses the conviction that because of the international correlations, no state can qualify the issue as its exclusive internal affair.

Parliament repeatedly confirms recognition of the inalienable dignity of each human being, irrespective of race, culture, nation and religion, and attaches great importance to the observance of the fundamental unity of the human race, which poses a commitment to mutual solidarity. It stresses that to ensure the conditions of minority existence free from discrimination is the duty of the state. The Hungarian National Assembly wishes to continue its legislative work in the same spirit in the future as well.

Parliament ascribes outstanding importance to the specific rights due to the minorities as communities, including the right to collective existence, participation in public life, fostering minority culture, keeping in contact with groups with identical cultural and historic roots living in the territory of other countries, and the declaration of the freedom of religion. It condemns the overt or covert violation of these rights, and takes a stand for their consistent enforcement both at home and aboard. It strives to draft as soon as possible a law, marked by this spirit, to guarantee the rights of Hungary's national minorities, and to control observance of these rights.

At the same time, parliament attaches great importance to the minority duties, which were also mentioned in the message, to civil loyalty, and to the minorities' observing the freedom and dignity of all human beings and refraining from the use of violence in the struggle for their rights.

The National Assembly holds desirable for the Hungarian People's Republic to continue to actively participate in the work to codify the ethnic, national and religious minority rights and create the relevant system of guarantees. It calls on the government to invariably follow with attention the situation of Hungarian minorities living beyond the borders, expressing the responsibility of the parent nation. Within the framework of bilateral links, as well as in the United Nations organization and other international organizations and forums, in the spirit of cooperation promoting the mutual understanding of peoples, it should initiate effective measures to strengthen the linking role of minorities.

The National Assembly takes it for certain that the platform of Pope John Paul II will meet with unanimous support among the Hungarian churches, political and social organizations and all progressive and patriotic forces. It is convinced that to attain the goals formulated in the Pope's message, the extensive cooperation of the parliaments and governments of all states is necessary and possible.

Contribution Made to Vienna Follow-up Session

LD0301225489 Budapest MTI in English
1906 GMT 3 Jan 88

[Text] Vienna, January 3 (MTI)—Contributing to the plenary session of the Vienna follow-up meeting on Tuesday, Hungarian ambassador Andre Erdos appreciated the New Year's message of Pope John Paul II on minority rights, and expounded the Hungarian position. The head of the Hungarian delegation was the first contributor to the opening plenary session of the year.

Mr Erdos emphasized, as in accordance with the papal message, the minority issue affected both the internal life and the international relations of states. The ambassador said that Hungary shared both this position and the papal statement that the minorities had a right to collective identity which should be protected.

The diplomat quoted the message as saying that respect for minority rights was a standard of the maturity of states and their institutions. Mr Erdos pointed out that the validity of this statement was also justified by the Vienna follow-up meeting of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, which focussed attention on the issue of national minorities since the very beginning. The attention given to the issue and the anxiety it causes is reflected by the specific obligations laid down in the draft final document. Although these parts of the document could still be improved in some aspects, they indicate the importance of the issue.

Mr Erdos said that the current situation of minorities in Europe gave no cause for satisfaction. He expressed the hope that those who were violating the human rights of minorities would sooner or later recognize the necessity of putting an end to an unreasonable situation. The stipulations of the Vienna final document related to national minorities would provide a more stable basis for advance, he said. These stipulations comprise the rights of minority people, including non-discrimination, information in their mother tongue, preservation of nationality culture, and the maintenance of contacts with foreigners of similar national origin and culture.

Discussing freedom of religion that was also mentioned in the papal message, the head of the Hungarian delegation emphasized that genuine equality of believers and non-believers, an atmosphere of tolerance, the participation of denominations in social dialogue, and the assertion by national laws of the freedom of thought and conviction prevents the barely conceivable return of medieval obscurantism.

Ambassador Erdos recalled that the Hungarian parliament welcomed and supported in a statement the New Year's message of Pope John Paul II. the statement urged the Hungarian Government to make further initiatives in the international field for codifying individual and collective rights of national minorities and establishing appropriate guarantees for their assertion. In conclusion, the Hungarian contributor termed it important to start the implementation of the Vienna final document, which would include the clauses dealing with national minorities, in 1989.

Berecz Comments on Modernization at Party Rally

LD0501215889 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Zahony—There is a great need that our current decisions should serve not only our everyday affairs, but also our development up to the turn of the century, said Janos Berecz, party Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, at today's workers' rally. Karoly Toth reports:

[Toth] At the turn of the year most of us are preoccupied with the questions: What the new year will bring, what will happen to us. Janos Berecz also began his speech with these words. It is common knowledge—we all feel it—that in the past 10 years the situation has deteriorated greatly, although, because of political and economic restrictions, the Politburo member said, we cannot decide in accordance with our intentions. Among the restrictions are the fact that the change, the changeover, has been late in coming, in the system of political institutions, in the modernization of legislation, of elections, of the Constitution. It was at this point that the Central Committee secretary stated that the party, on certain topics, had not consulted in time with the whole country—which it should have done, as a matter of fact, because unsupervised power could find itself alone [magara is maradhat]. At the same time he pointed out that the power struggle (?has been decided). Janos Berecz said that he personally is not a believer in the multiparty system, but if development brings this about, it cannot be prevented. He stressed that of course, legality, socialist norms, the alliance commitments, will have to be respected by eventual parties. The Central Committee secretary highlighted that there is no sense in changing the system of political institutions unless that creates a situation with a framework in which society can work undisturbed.

Moving on to economic issues, Janos Berecz spoke about the triple squeeze, compulsion, of the economy; above all he spoke about the importance of maintaining solvency, which is definitely necessary to lay the foundations of the unfolding [kibontakozas], so that the unfolding itself might begin on those foundations after 2 years.

Janos Berecz analyzed the relations of the party and the various strata; his final conclusion was that the MSZMP wants to be the party of a thinking people.

The Central Committee secretary spoke for the first time in public about the Gypsies. He said that unless this social problem is resolved we shall not rest. The answer to mistrust is mistrust, the answer to prejudice is prejudice, the answer to segregation is segregation. We are a people that welcomes others; let us have good words for them, because otherwise we shall inflict wounds and receive wounds. Thus, the basic solution is rooted not in the nationalities law, after all, but in our relations to the Gypsies, said Janos Berecz at his mass rally in Zahony.

Grosz, Others Receive New Ambassador to GDR

LD0301225989 Budapest MTI in English 1936 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 3 (MTI) Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Maria Jakab, deputy speaker of parliament, have met Erno Lakatos, Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the German Democratic Republic, who is shortly to leave for his post.

Walesa: Unrest Unless Solidarity Legalized

AU0501173789 Paris AFP in English
1647 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 5 (AFP)—Lech Walesa, leader of Poland's outlawed Solidarity movement, said Thursday he would back strikes or other forms of social unrest if "peaceful means" failed to persuade the authorities to legalize the union.

Mr. Walesa again called on the authorities to open discussions with the opposition and lift the ban on Solidarity, imposed when martial law was proclaimed in 1981.

"For the moment our weapons are arguments and not strikes," he said, but he cautioned that if those means proved insufficient, Solidarity would switch tactics sometime around April.

"We will ask the workers to decide the forms of struggle they wish to use and how far they are prepared to go. I suppose that another form of struggle will prove essential and I personally undertake to support it," he said.

"If Poland does not obtain pluralism soon, young people are likely to lose patience and that could cost us a lot."

But he said Solidarity was carrying on contacts with the authorities through two intermediaries, politburo member Stanislaw Ciosek, and a Roman Catholic intellectual, Andrzej Stelmachowski, who is close to Mr. Walesa.

A nationwide wave of strikes ended six months ago after the government promised "round-table" talks with opposition figures which have yet to materialize.

Walesa Holds News Conference in Gdansk

LD0501192989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1900 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Today Lech Walesa held a news conference in St. Brygida's Church in Gdansk. The conference was dominated by questions concerning the recently emerging so called working group of the National Commission of Solidarity, and Lech Walesa's attitude to accusations made against him at the group's meeting. Lech Walesa rejected the accusations, calling them demagogy and an attempt to gain young people's zeal for their own goals.

Referring to the questions concerning his attitude to Jerzy Urban's statement on the roundtable, Lech Walesa said that the roundtable is a symbol which says that Poles, at the end of the 20th century, should seek accord in a civilized and wise way that will build Poland. I am ready for such an accord, he said.

Passport Offices Swamped With Applicants

AU0501170289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
3 Jan 89 pp 1,2

[Report signed 'DIK': "Raids on Passport Offices—Better Information Essential"]

[Excerpts] Relaxed passport rules have been in force since 1 January. How does the situation look? To find an answer, our reporters visited several passport offices on Monday.

The passport section of the Warsaw-Zoliborz District Internal Affairs Office. It is 1130. Customers have been admitted since 1115. A noticeboard contains a list of the latest passport fees and reductions in these fees. However, in order to find out whether passports that were previously issued for the socialist countries only and were kept at home are still valid, one has to go to some room and ask. The noticeboard gives no answer to many other important questions, for example how much one has to pay in order to bring one's passport out of deposit and keep it at home. There is not a single word about the fact that passport applicants no longer need an invitation from someone living abroad, nor about the fact that males up to the age of 50 need to produce their military service books, nor about the fact that those in the possession of draft cards need permission from the Regional Military Command in order to apply.

On the first floor, there is a long line of people in front of the window where passport applications "for socialist and capitalist countries" are accepted, although this distinction is no longer valid. There is no window where one can obtain information, because there is no room, but there are application forms lying on the tables. One does not have to stand in line for those at least.

The Warsaw-Wola District Internal Affairs Office. The crowd of people fills the entire passport department and extends outside the building. For a long time, conditions here have been cramped for employees and applicants alike. People are waiting to receive application forms. "Why?" I ask the head of the department, Zofia Majkowska. "We do not have enough application forms. If we laid them out openly, people would seize several at the same time. We are afraid that we might run out of them." [passage omitted]

These visits by our reporters, as well as letters from readers, show that the new passport rules have caused people to invade passport offices. This was to be expected, in any case. However, not all offices managed to prepare themselves for this onslaught, because the period of time between the premier's decision and the date on which it came into force was too short. Good visual or telephonic information should reduce the lines of people waiting to receive information. Also, it would be better if those people with no intention of making a trip abroad in the immediate future applied for their passports at a later time. One can expect that in a few days' time, the situation will begin to normalize and obtaining a passport will no longer involve such an expenditure of time and test of nerves.

New Banks Active; New Interest Rates Set

LD0201140689 Warsaw PAP in English 1320 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 2—Nine newly set up commercial banks in Poland have started activity as of the new year.

The Central Bank's prime rate has been fixed at the level of 44 percent, effective as of this Jan. 1. The National Bank of Poland (NBP) is also going to set such a rate for the so-called refinancing credits granted to other banks.

However, particular banks can fairly freely shape their interest rates with their maximal value reaching 66 percent as determined by the bank's president. The exception here are credits for preferential aims (development of agriculture and food economy, increased export potential, sparing use of fuels and power and also environmental protection) whose interest rates reach 22-33 percent plus no more than nine points of the bank's profit margin.

The interest rate for cash credit granted to natural persons cannot be smaller than 55 percent, excluding credits for young couples (14 percent) and for the disabled for the purchase of wheel chairs and special cars (9 percent).

The minimal interest rate for six-month bank deposits is 33 percent, annual deposits—44 percent, two-year deposits—55 percent, three-year and longer deposits—66 percent. Interest rate for call deposits cannot be smaller than 11 percent, and at the national savings bank (PKO) this figure mounts to 12 percent.

Economic Official on Creation of Companies

AU0501171989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Jan 89 p 1

[Interview with Marcin Swiecicki, general secretary of the Consultative Economic Council, by Krystyna Sonntag: "A Return to the Word Capital"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Sonntag] The latest Consultative Economic Council report contains a plan of changes to state assets, clearly saying that unless work forces become more interested in profits and in the increased value of capital, there will be no healthy economy. Right now, work forces are merely interested in current incomes, and hardly anyone thinks in terms of the future of the firm, its development, and economic expansion. Therefore, what is the reform based on? I do not suppose the intention is to transform all steelworks, mines, and factories into private enterprises.

[Swiecicki] Such a privatization of state assets that takes place in the West is not possible in Poland. The ratio of private financial savings to the value of state assets is ten times lower than in the West. Therefore, any great program of privatization in Poland would involve distributing national assets which, despite their faults, bring about an influx of so many trillions of zlotys of pure profits each year. I doubt whether society would approve of such a program. Our proposals are more cautious. To put it simply, we want to set in motion a long-term process of transforming state enterprises into joint-stock companies. Private citizens would be able to buy shares in these companies, although most of the shares would be held by legal persons.

[Sonntag] If I understand correctly, by deciding to transform enterprises into companies, the state would direct the shares of a given firm to the market, to be purchased by persons intent on making a profit by investing their money in this company. Who would buy them?

[Swiecicki] Apart from private citizens, any institutions genuinely interested in acquiring a source of extra income would do so, in other words, social organizations, colleges, people's councils, insurance companies, commercial banks, savings banks, and also special holding companies.

[Sonntag] So state enterprises would cease to be society's property and become a group's property. What would that bring?

[Swiecicki] It would be possible to provide a better solution to problems that have a bearing on the economy's efficiency, problems which no reform in any socialist country has yet been able to solve. An enterprise and its management would be supervised by a board of shareholders, which would be concerned with profits and with increasing the market value of the shares, in other words, with the enterprise's ability to provide profits also in the future. So far, the role of these boards has been played exclusively by social forces that were more interested in consuming enterprise resources than laying them aside for investment purposes. [passage omitted]

[Sonntag] What other advantages can one expect?

[Swiecicki] Supervision over an enterprise by people concerned with making a profit out of it would have a favorable effect on management efficiency, work discipline and organization, and use of materials and resources. However, that is not all. Turning enterprises into companies and the existence of many shareholders will eventually lead to a capital market, an economic institution which is lacking, and whose absence has an increasingly negative effect on our development. [passage omitted]

[Sonntag] The creation of a state assets trust will make all the enterprise parent bodies, with all their negative aspects, superfluous. However, will this change not be purely cosmetic? After all, the trust will to a certain extent assume the functions of these bodies.

[Swiecicki] The state assets trust will not have all the administrative powers presently enjoyed by present parent bodies such as ministries or local authorities. In any case, it will not perform a managerial function.

'Progress and Democracy' Association Established

LD0301172689 Warsaw PAP in English
1520 GMT 3 Jan 89

[text] Warsaw, Jan 3— A nationwide association called "Postep i Demokracja" (Progress and Democracy) has been registered with the Warsaw mayor's office.

According to the adopted statutory rules, the new association's objective is to promote, especially in workers' and youth's milieux, the humanistic politico- ideological values of the Polish national left— shaping civic and patriotic attitudes in the spirit of democracy and social justice.

The "Postep i Demokracja" association is going to take up in the future press and publishing activity.

Sociopolitical Body Views Associations Bill

AU0401171889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
30 Dec 88 p 2

[PAP report: "The Law on Associations"]

[Text] At its 29 December meeting, the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee assessed the outcome of the consultations on the draft of the "Law on Associations." The meeting was chaired by Minister Aleksander Kwasniewski.

The associations bill has been prepared by a team of specialists consisting of government and church representatives. On 24 October, the Council of Ministers released it for social consultations, involving mainly scientific and professional circles, people of culture, associations of ex-servicemen, youth associations, and Catholic and lay Christian milieus. Invitations to state an opinion about the bill were also addressed to about 100 representatives of the educational world who enjoy prestige among professional people. The consultations also involved discussions organized by the PZPR and allied parties, PRON, the Polish Lawyers Association, and the National Culture Council. All in all, over 1,000 individual and collective opinions have been received.

The meeting concentrated on the extent of the freedom to associate, the procedure for registration, and supervision over associations. Generally speaking, support was given to the path of the proposed legal changes, which are designed to give citizens the freedom to associate within the constraints set by the PPR Constitution, the existing legal order, and the political and civic pacts which the PPR has ratified. In accordance with these pacts, the only restrictions on the activity of associations will be the interests of state security, the legal order, health protection, public morals, and the rights and freedoms of other citizens.

The consultations welcomed the fact that the possibility of blocking the registration of an association "due to lack of social usefulness," something that had caused considerable negative feelings in the past, was being done away with by the new law. Nevertheless, the proposed principle of registering an association on the condition that it "respects the principles of social co-existence" was met with doubts.

Another debatable issue is the existence of ordinary associations. What favors their existence is that they are the simplest form of association. However, there are not many associations like this, and they consist of a total of 800 people. Moreover, there is no tendency to increase the number of these associations. The basic obstacle to their growth is that they have no legal personality, which has a bearing on civil and administrative law. If these associations are to be retained, the associations act will have to provide for others ways of registering them than via a court. As a result, a discrepancy in the rules could arise.

Doing away with ordinary associations would also mean doing away with "associations of higher utility," associations which have enjoyed a monopoly in a given sphere of activity. This would give all associations equal chances for development and activity.

The consultations also brought many proposals concerning ways in which associations should be registered. Most participants supported the idea of registering them in a court.

Assessing the outcome of the consultations, the Sociopolitical Committee also issued a stance on the subject of the bill itself. The committee underlined the importance of this piece of legislation, which is meant to expand civic initiative, permit a pluralism of views, and enrich forms of public life. It was said that these expectations ought to be reflected in the preamble to the law, and that the restrictions which a supervisory body may impose on an association in its care be minimized.

The Sociopolitical Committee placed the team responsible for producing the draft to take the results of these consultations into account and make essential amendments, after which the bill will be placed before the Council of Ministers.

New Science, Technology Undersecretaries Named

AU0301154989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Dec 88 p 5

[Pap report: "Chronicle of Cadre Changes"]

[Text] On the recommendation of the minister responsible for the Office of Advancement and Application of Science and Technology, the chairman of the Council of Ministers recalled Adam Graczynski and Wieslaw Grudzewski from their posts as undersecretaries of state in that office and expressed recognition and thanks for their work.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed Marek Bogucki and Ryszard Mazur to the vacant posts.

Marek Bogucki was born in Warsaw in 1949 into an intelligentsia family. He studied at Warsaw Polytechnic, where he obtained a master's degree in mechanical engineering.

He began his professional career in 1973 at Warsaw Polytechnic, where he held the posts of junior assistant lecturer and then assistant lecturer. He started working at the Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology in 1976, where he held the posts of chief specialist, deputy director of the planning and finance department, as well as director of the technical research and technical studies department. He was sent to the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1983, where he completed his studies in 1986, having specialized in intergovernmental international organizations.

In 1986 he started work at the PZPR Central Committee Education and Science Department as chief specialist for issues relating to scientific and technical cooperation with foreign countries. In his senior post in the Office of Advancement of Science and Technology, he will be entrusted with matters relating to cooperation with foreign countries and promoting scientific and technological progress. He is married and has a daughter.

Ryszard Mazur was born in 1946 in Brzezice, Lublin Voivodship, into a peasant family. He studied at the Higher Agricultural School in Lublin and holds a doctorate in agricultural sciences.

He began his professional career in 1969, his first post being that of junior assistant lecturer at the Higher Agricultural School in Lublin. In 1970 he was appointed deputy director of the agriculture department attached to the Presidium of the District People's Council in Gliwice. During the years 1972-77, he was chief specialist at the Voivodship Center for Agricultural Progress in Smilowice, and later became director of the agriculture progress center in Boguchwala, Rzeszow Voivodship. In 1983 he was appointed as a department director in the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industries, and then, in 1987, he transferred to research work at the Main Center for Agricultural Education and Progress. In January 1988 he was appointed department director responsible for research, development, and application at the Office of Advancement and Application of Science and Technology. He is also an adviser to the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industries and deals with the implementation of the cooperation program between the PPR and the FAO on modernizing agricultural advisory services. In his senior post in the office, he will be entrusted with supervision of the implementation of research, development, and application programs. He is a member of the PZPR, is married, and has a son.

Finance Ministry Undersecretaries Appointed

LD0401132789 Warsaw PAP in English 1211 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 4—Following the motion of the minister of finances, the prime minister recalled Andrzej Dorosz and Antoni Gryniewicz from the posts of undersecretaries of state at that ministry, voicing appreciation for their hitherto work.

The premier appointed Janusz Sawicki and Andrzej Podsiadlo new undersecretaries of state at the ministry.

Janusz Sawicki
Born in 1949, doctor in economics. Worked at the PUWP CC Economic Department's foreign trade and CMEA section since Nov, 1985. Since March, 1987, he was Foreign Department director at the Finance Ministry. PUWP member.

Andrzej Podsiadlo
Born in 1950, doctor in economics, director of the team for the economic policy and annual planning since 1988. Succeeding personnel reviews classified him as a candidate for promotion. PUWP member.

Statistical Main Office President Replaced

LD0501105589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers has recalled in connection with his retirement Prof Wieslaw Sadowski from the post of president of the Statistical Main Office, expressing gratitude and recognition to him for his many years of hard, effective work.

The premier has appointed Dr Franciszek Kubiczek to the post.

Czyrek Interviewed on Party Tasks

AU0301213889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23-26 Dec 88 pp 1,2

[Interview with Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Krystyna Chrupkowa: "Continuity and Changes"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Chrupkowa] We have read the plenum theses, and the discussion about these theses and the first part of the plenum are behind us. Is this the right time to ask what stage the party has reached?

[Czyrek] I think this is just the beginning of the discussion about the theses, although many of the assessments and proposals contained in them are familiar to us from earlier programmatic documents, such as those of the Ninth and Tenth congresses, and especially the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth plenums. Therefore, on the one hand, the 10th plenum is a continuation of essential changes, and on the other hand, an acceleration of these changes. The purpose of the plenum is to discuss the problems contained in the Politburo theses and to work out a program of essential principles of a process that we describe by the slogan "the party in change, changes in the party." Between the two halves of the plenum, all party members, from central bodies down to primary party organizations, will no doubt hold in-depth debates on the material provided by the first half. So right now it is difficult to give a final answer about the party's views on this or that issue and about the final outcome of the 10th plenum.

Of course, the main tendencies are clear. The party has spoken out in favor of animating its inspirational role in the process of reform. No doubt there is a complete awareness of the need to change the party's work style and work methods inside and outside the party. The plenary debates proved this awareness. This is an obvious need, for the party must perform its role more effectively.

Today, most party members also realize that in questions concerning the political system and the role of political movements in it, we refer to the pre-Stalinist period, the period of the formation of our people's statehood. We refer to the values contributed by the two workers parties, the Polish Workers Party and Polish Socialist Party, in other words, the Gomulka concept of the Polish path to socialism pursued by his political coalition. Finally, we refer to those values contributed by the socialist movement; in other words, an adherence to patriotic, democratic, and humanitarian motivations. In a nutshell, a return to the sources, to the values that lie at the roots of our revolution, is an expression of continuity and change. It is obvious that today many matters appear different from the way they appeared several years ago, and that many problems, events, and phenomena are being re-assessed. The 10th plenum is an acceleration of this creative process.

[Chrupkowa] Development by means of support is the name I would give to the most interesting part of the plenum.

[Czyrek] There is no doubt that an exchange and even a clash of opinions is a historically proven method of reaching the so-called objective truth. Only in this way can one discover clear paths leading to solutions, and not by declaring revelations. Therefore, I share the view that the 10th plenum has embarked upon this path, although it seems as if it is only at the very start of it. There are many matters yet to be resolved during a businesslike debate. I expect this will occur at the second part of the plenum.

[Chrupkowa] The entire party is reforming itself. Personally, I would like the Central Committee to reform itself as well, as well as reforming the way it holds its plenums. There were many mediocre speeches during the 2 days of the plenum. People told stories about their workplaces and villages. A plenum is not the time and place for that, especially because the party is faced with solving so many great problems, for example political and trade union pluralism.

[Czyrek] The reason is no doubt the traditions that govern Central Committee work, plus the fact that some comrades may not have a very clear picture of the problems that have to be discussed. However, I would not consider it wrong to talk about one's workplace or region if it is connected with broader issues and if specific experiences confirm and verify the assessments and proposals that are being presented. It is very useful to illustrate national dilemmas by means of local examples. This enriches debates and brings them down to earth.

[Chrupkowa] The personnel changes may eclipse the entire plenum, though it is obvious that present and future changes in the party call for an influx of fresh forces. Therefore, such names as Marian Stepien, Janusz Reykowski, and Zygmunt Czarasty are significant.

[Czyrek] The purpose of these changes is to consolidate the party's leading role in them. The point was to select people with the right qualities and experience to supply positive stimuli and new values to the leadership's work. Another important reason was to carry out a change of generation inside the party. The third reason was to add representatives of important communities to the party leadership. Here it is worth mentioning Iwona Lubowska, who represents the teaching community, or Wiktor Pyrkosz, the director of a major Lodz enterprise and a man well-known for his economic reform achievements.

Personnel changes are always a focus of increased attention and even emotions. Perhaps this is good. However, to prevent the personnel changes from eclipsing the rest of the plenum, we decided to make these changes during the first half of the plenum. Thus, the second half will be devoted purely to actual problems.

[Chrupkowa] What is your attitude toward the "roundtable"?

[Czyrek] I have always been an avid supporter and keen spokesman of socialist renewal, and have always preferred to solve problems by political methods. In this connection, I have always been in favor of the policy of dialogue and accord. Recently I have also tried to contribute to this process by taking part in the preparations for the "roundtable." Although the "roundtable" has never met formally, the actual "roundtable" process has started. What is more, it has brought positive and very tangible results. Those who deny this are wrong. So I repeat: The "roundtable" process has started. This is a great chance to satisfy all the expectations connected with the national accord, which is essential in order to solve our national problems and dilemmas.

[Chrupkowa] I am probably right to say that all these major topics will be reflected in the 11th plenum resolution.

[Czyrek] I am sure you are.

Young People on Reasons for Joining Party

AU0501174489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
3 Jan 89 pp 1,3

[Report by Czeslaw Kubasik: "I Decided To Join the Party"]

[Excerpt] One often hears that the party is getting old and no young people are consolidating its ranks. Yet last year, the party received 1,497 candidate members in Wroclaw Voivodship alone. Most of them were young but mature people aged 30 to 35.

Why did they join, we asked several of them at a ceremony marking the 40th anniversary of the Polish workers movement in the Wroclaw People's Hall, where they received their membership cards. Our interviewees were 26 year-old Barbara Kowalska, a seamstress from the "Otis" clothes factory; 34 year-old Zbigniew Sekrecki, a biological scientist at the Wroclaw-Osobowice state farm; 35 year-old Dariusz Szwarc, an employee of the "Pafawag" railroad car plant; and 31 year-old Grzegorz Redesiuk, machine operator at the "Aspa" welding equipment plant.

Bronislawa Kowalska: Most of my group of 28 people consists of young ladies. Only two older seamstresses belong to the PZPR. They are solid workers who set a good example. I thought that if I joined the party, I might be able to help them through my sociopolitical activity, and so I asked to be recommended for party membership. There is a lot to do, especially in matters concerning us young people. However, many of my friends fail to appreciate what the party could do to our lives. When some of my friends asked me, with a smile on their faces, whether I was already a "Red," I replied yes—since yesterday, when I received my membership card. Such an attitude by people hostile or indifferent to the party creates a great desire to take energetic part in the daily work of my party committee.

Dariusz Szwarc: Our plant is in a difficult financial situation. We have to find a way out of it. As a party member, I hoped my voice would be more audible during debates. I realize that any decision since 1981 is a risky one. I used to belong to "Solidarity" but nothing came of it. Now I have joined the party. Those friends of mine who do not belong trust me and believe I can directly help the party, and indirectly help them, solve many annoying problems.

Zbigniew Serecki: There are three reasons why I joined. First, in order to make a career, in a positive sense. Having put my life in order, I decided to join. I told myself that it is time to do so in order to find a broader field of activity and pass the baton in the generation's relay race. The third reason is my professional ambition. I think that agriculture must possess priority in the national economy, and not just verbally, but in the form of concrete action. Nevertheless, the decision to join did involve a certain risk. I hear slogans about hanging communists and killing Bolsheviks. That does not disturb me. I am chairman of the workers council in my steelworks, and have been invited to party meetings. Now I am one of those who not only have the right, but also have the duty to face up to issues boldly.

Grzegorz Redesiuk: When I belonged to a youth organization, they tried to induce me to join the party. My friends said that without doing so, I would achieve nothing. I replied: You should see what kind of failures occupy senior posts, and the party, instead of withdrawing their recommendations, defends them. If they are eventually dismissed, they merely ride on the "cadres carousel" and occupy another senior post for which they are not suited at all. Now I have reached the conclusion that in the government there are people who are concerned with heading in the right direction, just like me. That is what made me join the PZPR. [passage omitted]

Western Media Reports 'Trivial', 'Irresponsible'

LD0501204289 Warsaw PAP in English
1932 GMT 5 Jan 89

[What are Gwiazda and his friends Afraid of?"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 5—Andrzej Gwiazda complained in his interview for the UPI that the Western mass media report only on activities taken by Lech Walesa. Radio Free Europe immediately responded to this complaint, broadcasting on Jan, 4 the text of the statements adopted in Gdansk on Dec. 18, 1988 by the so-called "working group" of the members of the National Commisssion and activists of the former "Solidarnosc," grouped around Gwiazda. After reading these documents, one promptly understands why they were so reservedly received in the West and also by the Polish opposition. In the eyes of the extremists of the former "Solidarnosc," the ongoing Polish reforms and efforts to make the economy efficient and free from bureaucracy are nothing else than "looting the national property by the nomenclature changing from a collective proprietor into a group of private owners." This argument is not fully understandable, as the same authors express concern a few lines below that the current government policy opens up a chance for supporters of the opposition to get rich, who, in turn, will thus turn into enemies of the "free trade union."

An equally trivial charge is that the new government policy exposes Polish workers to exploitation by foreign capital, while the remark that "when a sufficiently large class of owners is created among Catholics the church will have to admonish us to work honestly," is simply ridiculous.

Less funny are, however, irresponsible calls to "stop intervening and reprimanding" the young when they undertake "fight" using methods which they hold proper. This, in fact, is nothing else but another call to lead the extremist groups of youth into the streets, and an attack against those opposition activists who condemned such attempts—vide the recent attack on the police station in Gdansk.

The authors of the statements, among them Andrzej Gwiazda, Andrzej Slowik, Seweryn Jaworski, Marian Jurczyk, Jerzy Kropiwnicki and Jan rulewski, say that the "Solidarnosc" split into those who trust Lech Walesa, and those who are true to "Solidarnosc."

Agreement Reached With Sweden on Baltic Zone

LD0301213389 Warsaw PAP in English 1859 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 3—Negotiations have been concluded on the delineation of the continental shelf and fishing zones in the Baltic between Poland and Sweden.

The agreement, expected to be signed soon, takes into account bilateral advantages which can contribute to improving navigation and creating better conditions for shipping.

Czyrek Statement on Visit to Belorussia

AU0401122789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 88-1 Jan 89 p 9

[Statement made by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, to TRYBUNA LUDU on visit to the Belorussian SSR: "Jozef Czyrek's Statement for TRYBUNA LUDU"—date and place not given]

[Text] During our brief visit we acquainted ourselves with Belorussia's great accomplishments under the 70 years of Soviet rule by, among other things, visiting the exhibition on the republic's achievements. A strong industrial base has been created, and what particularly interests us are the tractors, trucks, and machine tools produced in Minsk. Agriculture is well developed and technically well supplied. The republic's intellectual potential is attested to by the fact that there are 33 colleges and 32 scientific research institutes. During the ceremonial session of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR, as well as during talks with our hosts, much was said about the new phenomena in the republic's life, and the social and economic changes that are designed to increase people's degree of activity and make better use of Belorussia's potential. These processes are similar to those that are taking place in our country. The common factor is the far-reaching nature of analyses of the past, similar goals, and what are often similarities in the way in which processes occur.

Our parties' similar activities, the great economic possibilities that Poland and Belorussia have, our similar cultures, and finally the common border mean that we attach particular importance to the development of Polish-Belorussian cooperation. We expressed this in, among other things, the program of cooperation between the Central Committees of the PZPR and the Communist Party of Belorussia. However, the heart of the matter does not lie in documents, direct contacts between people are the most important thing. These contacts are growing every month. Border area trade is producing many benefits. Quite a number of enterprises have established direct production cooperation. It is particularly worth pointing to the examples of the Minsk "Dormasz" Plant, the "Stalowa Wola" Steelworks, the "Romet" Factory, and the Minsk motorcycle factory. Several Belorussian districts and Polish voivodships have established lasting ties of friendship. I would mention Minsk and Plock, and Vitebsk and Zielona Gora. This year saw the First Festival of Polish Song on Belorussian soil.

These few examples show that our mutual ties are becoming stronger. Besides, this is part of a more general trend in Polish-Soviet relations, a trend that is more oriented toward people and toward more comprehensive and concrete cooperation. That is the sense of the provisions of the declaration on cooperation in the fields of ideology, culture, and science that was signed by the leaders of our countries last year, as well as the outcome of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland.

Jaruzelski Greetings Message to Belorussian SSR

AU0501193789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 88-1 Jan 89 p 9

[Message from Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, to the authorities and citizens of the Belorussian SSR on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Belorussian SSR and the formation of the Belorussian Communist Party]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Belorussian SSR and the Belorussian Communist Party, we convey cordial greetings and wishes to the fraternal Belorussian people, the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party, and the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR from the Polish people and the highest party and state authorities in the PPR.

The establishment of the Belorussian SSR 70 years ago, which was inseparably connected with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, meant the realization of the age-long aspiration of the Belorussians for a form of development that was in keeping with national aspirations and rich cultural traditions within their own state. The fact that this coincides with celebrations to mark the 70th anniversary of the formation of the Belorussian Communist Party points to the key role that was played in this process by communists and progressive circles in Belorussian society.

Thanks to selfless and hard work, which has always been a characteristic of the Belorussian people, historic transformations have been accomplished and the entire people has made great cultural and economic progress. Belorussia has become a modern Soviet republic that has undergone comprehensive development, and it occupies an important place in the great family of Soviet peoples.

The traditionally close relations that exist between our peoples go back a long way. Their fates have been intertwined and, although there were difficult moments, the predominant feature of relations has been mutual sympathy and fraternal friendship between two Slavic peoples. The common struggle against Hitler's occupation forces, in particular, brought our peoples closer together. The Polish and Belorussian peoples are among those peoples that suffered the greatest losses during this struggle. The common memory of the millions of victims and the immense suffering that we experienced during World War II unites us.

The historic turning point in Polish-Soviet relations, which was initiated by the treaty of alliance signed on 21 April 1945, made it possible to develop Polish-Belorussian political, economic, and cultural cooperation in a broad and comprehensive manner. Our cooperation in the international arena has been equally fruitful.

The important process of restructuring in the USSR and socialist renewal in Poland, in which our parties are cooperating very closely, creates qualitatively new conditions for the comprehensive development and the strengthening and enhancement of cooperation and friendship between Poland and Belorussia. We welcome the rapid, especially recently, development of direct contacts between border region areas, towns, voivodships and districts, and between citizens in both countries. Poles living in Belorussia and Belorussians living in Poland are playing an important role in the process of bringing our peoples closer together.

We want to continue to strengthen and enhance comprehensive cooperation and friendship between Poland and Soviet Belorussia in the belief that this serves the vital interests of both peoples well.

Dear comrades, on the occasion of this important anniversary, please accept cordial congratulations and wishes of further successes in the socioeconomic and cultural development of your republic.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council.

Warsaw, 30 December 1988.

Jaruzelski Hails German Communist Party Jubilee

AU0301150589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Dec 88 p 2

[Greetings telegram from PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski to GDR General Secretary Erich Honecker on the 70th anniversary of the German Communist Party]

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, Berlin.

Dear Comrade Erich Honecker! On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee and the communists and working people of the PPR, we send the SED Central Committee, all the communists of your country, and the GDR people fraternal greetings and best wishes on the 70th anniversary of the German Communist Party.

This important jubilee of German communists is inseparably connected with the victory by the idea of socialism in the world, set off by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The emergence of the German communist party out of the embers of the October Revolution in 1918 commenced a new chapter in the rich history of the German workers movement. The party arose out of the rich experiences and revolutionary traditions of the Spartacus Union. Its pioneers and joint creators were distinguished aktivists in the international workers movement—Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, and Wilhelm Pieck. The German communist party became a force that led the workers class in its struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the implementation of the ideals of social justice contained in the socialist system. For their heroic attitude and struggle against the fascist regime, the German communists earned themselves universal respect and recognition from the workers class all over the world. This struggle was led by Ernst Thaelmann, one of the most distinguished aktivists of the international workers movement.

Many Polish revolutionaries have also written a glorious chapter in the history of the German communist party. They fought in the party's ranks against a common enemy.

The SED is a worthy continuer of the work that was started by the German communist party.

We accord great recognition to all the achievements of the workers class and people of the GDR under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist SED.

We note with great satisfaction that the fraternal relations and comprehensive cooperation between the PZPR and SED, and between the PPR and GDR, is developing and enhancing constantly.

We wish to assure you, dear comrades, that we will continue to aim consistently toward a development and enhancement of fraternal cooperation for the good of both countries and peoples, and in the interests of the entire socialist community.

With all our hearts, we wish the SED Central Committee and the communists and working people of the GDR much further success in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman, Warsaw, 30 December 1988.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 20-26 Dec

AU0201184489 [Editorial Report] The Polish press monitored from 21 through 27 December reports the following appearances of Polish leaders covered by Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and PPR State Council chairman, received participants in the 1918-19 uprising in Poznan on 22 December. (23-26 Dec 88 p 2) On 24 December, he received outstanding scholar Bogdan Suchodolski, chairman of the National Culture Council, in Warsaw. (27 Dec 88 p 2)

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, received Tadeusz Czechowicz, PPR ambassador to Hungary on 22 December. (23-26 Dec 88 p 2)

Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the OPZZ, has chaired a meeting of the OPZZ working party that is examining issues connected with structure of the trade union movement. (23-26 Dec 88 p 2)

Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a staff and students party organization meeting at the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences on 22 December. (23-26 Dec 88 p 2)

Zdislaw Balicki, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Wroclaw Voivodship PZPR Committee, chaired a plenum of the Wroclaw party organization on 23 December. (27 Dec 88 p 2)

Tadeusz Olechowski, PPR minister of foreign affairs, has received Robert Bloes, departing ambassador of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. (23-26 Dec 88 p 2)

Appearances for 28 Dec-2 Jan

AU0501113589 [Editorial Report] The Polish press monitored from 29 December 1988 to 3 January 1989 reports the following appearances of Polish leaders covered by Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Manfred Gorywoda and Zdzislaw Swiatek attended a meeting of Katowice voivodship party aktivs in Katowice on 28 December. (29 Dec 88 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek and Tadeusz Olechowski met with aktivs of the Polish foreign service on 31 December. (2 Jan 89 p 2)

Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received the following ambassadors on 28 December: Muhammad Fadil Husayn al-Habbubi of Iraq, Samuel A. Olajide of Nigeria, and Isabel Allende Karem of Cuba. (29 Dec 88 p 2) He paid a visit to the "Rampa" Theater in Targowek, and the Warsaw City Center Office of Internal Affairs on 31 December, in order to express new year greetings to the theatrical staff and militiamen respectively. (2 Jan 89 p 2) He received Wlodzimierz Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR, on 2 January. (3 Jan 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and State Council deputy chairman, received Marian Wozniak, new Polish ambassador to the PRC, on 28 December. (29 Dec 88 p 2) He attended a ceremony to commemorate the 45th anniversary of the National People's Council on 31 December. (30 Dec 88 p 2)

Leszek Miller, Central Committee secretary, attended the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship PZPR Committee plenum on 29 December. (30 Dec 88 p 2) He visited several industrial plants in Zyrardow on 2 January, and discussed production problems with the work forces and managements. (3 Jan 89 p 2)

Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski presented awards to journalists and TV and radio reporters for their outstanding work on 29 December. (30 Dec 88 p 2) He presented awards for the best Polish political books of 1988 on 30 December. (31 Dec 88-1 Jan 89 p 2)

AGERPRES Statement on U.S. Downing of Planes

AU0501190689 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] In connection with the downing of two planes belonging to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah by U.S. military planes, based off the Kennedy aircraft carrier in the international waters of the Mediterranean, the Romanian press agency AGERPRES has been empowered to declare:

Public opinion in our country has taken note with great concern and disapproval of the downing of two Libyan planes by U.S. military planes.

This military attack and the massive presence of U.S. military ships with powerful weapons aboard can only cause further dangerous tension in that part of the Mediterranean.

The downing of the two Libyan planes has created a very dangerous situation for peace, and therefore it is necessary to immediately renounce such acts of force and demonstrations of force, and to respect the Libyan people's rights, as in fact the rights of all peoples, to independence, sovereignty, security, and peace.

This serious event in the Mediterranean further emphasizes the danger posed to peace and the security of peoples by the presence of military fleets and demonstrations of force in international waters.

On this occasion, too, Romania reaffirms the need that foreign military ships be withdrawn from international waters, that oceans and seas be free from any military presence, and that demonstrations of force near the borders of other states cease.

At the same time, Romania firmly advocates the use of international airspace solely for peaceful purposes and a ban on any military exercises and operations in this airspace.

Public opinion in our country and Socialist Romania express their solidarity with the struggle waged by the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah to defend its freedom and independence; they condemn the downing of the Libyan planes by U.S. military planes in the Mediterranean, and demand that such acts never be repeated, and that a great sense of responsibility be shown for the security of all countries and for protecting the general interests of peace throughout the world, the declaration of the Romanian press agency AGERPRES concludes.

Ceausescu Meets, Addresses Diplomatic Heads

Leaders Received

AU3012195688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 30 Dec 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives Diplomatic Heads of Mission Accredited in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 30/12/1988—Friday, December 30, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received the diplomatic heads of mission accredited in Romania, who congratulated him on the 41st anniversary of the proclamation of the republic and the New Year's Eve.

The reception was attended by Mrs Elena Ceausescu, Constantin Dascalescu, other members of the party and state leadership.

From the heads of state and government, the leaders of the organizations they represent, the attending diplomats conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu cordial congratulations and wishes of good health and happiness, of new and remarkable successes in the activity at head of Socialist Romania, for the prosperity of the Romanian people, for the consolidation and development of the friendship and collaboration with all the states of the world, for the establishment of a climate of peace and security, of understanding and broad collaboration among all nations of the world.

Addressing President Nicolae Ceausescu, the dean of the diplomatic corps, Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador, pointed out that the diplomats who represent their country in Bucharest make their contribution as best they can to the deepening and expansion of the collaboration with Romania, based on the principles of fully equal rights, respect of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in home affairs and mutual advantage.

Evincing the importance attached by the Romanian State, by President Nicolae Ceausescu personally, to the development of relations with all the countries of the world—big and small—irrespective of social system, the speaker appreciated it in recognition of Romania's active contribution to the international life, of its president's persevering efforts to solve the ardent contemporary issues, for the consolidation of stability, peace, disarmament, nuclear above all, the eradication of underdevelopment, the establishment of a new international economic order, the peaceful settlement of the regional conflicts.

In behalf of the diplomatic corps the speaker thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu, the Romanian Government, state bodies and public organizations for the collaboration and support granted along this year and was also highly appreciative of the efforts made by the Romanian leadership for the development of political and economic links, the scientific and cultural collaboration with all countries.

In concluding his address, the Soviet ambassador addressed congratulations on the 41st anniversary of the proclamation of the republic and the New Year's Eve, to President Nicolae Ceausescu, Mrs Elena Ceausescu, the State Council, the government, the Romanian people as well as cordial wishes of good health, happiness and prosperity, the successful implementation of the socioeconomic development plans of the country.

Next, President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed the audience.

The Romanian head of state's address was followed with keen interest, utmost attention and applauded by the attendance.

The President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu drank a glass of champagne with the present diplomats, and wished them again good health, happiness, new successes in their activity and the traditional "a happy New Year."

Audience Addressed

AU0301144389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Dec 88 p 1, 5

["Speech Made by President Nicolae Ceausescu on Receiving Heads of Diplomatic Missions"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Doyen of the diplomatic corps, dear comrades and Messrs ambassadors and diplomatic representatives of the countries that have ties with Romania,

I would like to thank you on my own behalf and on behalf of state leadership for your congratulations. We see them as an expression of the relations of cooperation, of friendship between our countries.

You have been living here with us in Romania for a longer or a shorter time, and you are acquainted with the concerns, with the activity of the Romanian people for the implementation of the socioeconomic development programs. As a matter of fact, not long ago, we made a general survey of the achievements scored by the Romanian people and, as you well know, we—all our democratic bodies, the party, virtually the whole people—have unanimously reached the conclusion that we have scored results of particular importance on the path of socialist construction which have taken Romania, in a historically short period of time, from the state of a poorly developed country to that of a country with a modern industry and an advanced agriculture, with an advanced science, education and culture. As a matter of fact, this allowed Romania to long ago liquidate the old inherited backwardness and reach a high level of civilization, materially and spiritually.

I have mentioned—and you know it well as we say it repeatedly—that it was not easy to achieve all this. We had to overcome many difficulties. There still are difficulties, shortcomings. We still have a long way to go to fully attain our people's aspirations.

Nonetheless, we have scored such results which prove that in the conditions of our country, with a people, master of its destinies, that has liquidated foreign domination and works for independent socioeconomic development, we have the full guarantee that we will attain all the aspirations of our people. As we are convinced that other peoples as well, all the peoples can—and I know that they work to this end—ensure their economic and social progress, their independence and welfare. While looking with satisfaction at what we have achieved in the year we are soon to end we still have to say it that we are deeply concerned with and worried about the complex and grave problems which continue to exist in the international life. We have reached the conclusion that the outgoing year, 1988, has not met to the full the expectations all the peoples had at its beginning.

True, negotiations continued in many areas of activity, on nuclear arms included. Discussions are going on about the need to open negotiations on cutting on the conventional arms, yet we must say it openly before our peoples, that virtually nothing material has been achieved this year.

Negotiations and talks alone means not making steps along the path of disarmament. Quite the contrary, nuclear tests went on, work on the so-called star wars, the action to militarize the outer space continued. Recently, NATO has discussed and even passed a resolution on improving the short-range and tactical weapons. This virtually means increasing—according to the statement of this body—approximately four times the destructive power of the existing arms, which exceeds by far the power of the arms removed by the accord between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the intermediate and shorter-range missiles.

If looking at all these with the feeling of the responsibility we have before our peoples, before the whole world, before civilization and the future of mankind, we could not help saying that the danger still lingers of a new world war which would inevitably turn into a nuclear war which would lead to the destruction of mankind as a whole.

We believe it is necessary to look at things as they are. Let us not have illusions and first of all let us not give people the illusion they can live without fearing a destructive nuclear war.

Indeed, everything is necessary to be done, in our opinion, so that the small steps be followed by bigger steps, and first of all the accord between the Soviet

Union and the United States of America be concluded on cutting by 50 percent the strategic arms, and we would like the year 1989 to lead to the implementation of this treaty.

Yet, there is a need for the concept of nuclear deterrence to be given up. It is hard to talk about a new political thinking as long as the old view of nuclear deterrence continues to be asserted rather frequently and when work is done along this line.

There is a need for us to do everything so that the next year negotiations may start on reducing the conventional arms, setting out from the proposals made by the countries in the Warsaw Pact, regarding 25 percent cuts, at a first stage, and from the NATO proposals on 50 percent cuts. I personally aim for the 50 percent cut, for substantive reduction to be operated from they very outset. The question is not who proposed first, a bigger or a smaller cut, but what we must do to radically reduce armaments, and more particularly in Europe where almost all these armaments are.

It is indeed necessary to think of chemical weapons, of their liquidation. As a matter of fact, a meeting will take place in Paris at the beginning of January on this question. It is an important question, but we must consider it in the context of the new realities, of the changes occurred since 1925. The convention signed then was very good, although it was not carried into effect. Some did not even sign that convention. But many have changed in the meantime. Talking about this convention without considering the new arms that have been manufactured and particularly the existence of the nuclear arms would mean acting unilaterally.

We consider that when approaching the questions posed by chemical arms it is necessary to set out from the tight link with the other mass destruction arms and particularly from the tight link with the nuclear arms. One cannot think that other states will accept giving up the chemical arms without a general accord on the renunciation and liquidation, over an adequate interval, of the nuclear and other mass-destruction arms.

I want honestly to tell you that, as far as Romania is concerned, recently we have discussed the issue and we will not commit ourselves to the issue of chemical arms without the concomitant attainment of a general accord on liquidating the nuclear arms. We do not wish to stand at the will of those having nuclear arms. Ultimately, even the chemical arm can be a deterrent for those who have no nuclear arms, and we must understand the unity of concomitantly liquidating all the mass destruction arms, chemical, bacteriological, nuclear and of any other kind. In effect, the greatest danger to the whole world, to the very existence of life on this planet, is the nuclear arm. It is difficult to believe that many peoples will want to remain unarmed, to be in a position—as is the case of Libya now—to be told that "unless you obey the will of one country or another we'll come and bombard you."

We all must see to it—and I raise this issue most responsibly, on behalf of the Romanian people—that the future of mankind is a future from which the mass-destruction arms, equally chemical and nuclear, are eliminated and the conventional arms are reduced. Let conditions be created for the safety and full, independent development of the people; let a definite end be put to the policy of blackmail, threat and force against other states.

It is difficult to consider that a radical change has occurred in the world. We have said it and will say it openly to our people and to all those whom we meet that detente and disarmament are still not a fact of our life. We must understand it that this is only the beginning of the road, of a road towards a new political conception. Yet, this road must be traversed, and this presupposes the joint action of all the peoples. Nobody will give up the old conception of nuclear deterrence by his own will. It is only the people all over the world, inclusive of the people in the respective countries, that can and must impose a radical change in the political conception and in the relations among states.

What we have achieved so far is the result of the general struggle of all the peoples, not of several governments' or of some people's goodwill. We will not be able to remove the danger of having the whole world destroyed, not without the peoples' struggle. Forgive me for telling it straight to you, the way I usually do it, how we see, understand and think, because we set out from the facts of the contemporary world, from the events which occurred several days ago, which prove that the situation continues to be grave.

We believe that progress can be made and we wish to do our utmost in this respect, but in a unitary way which should provide security, independence and free development to each and every nation.

In the economic areas things have gone worse. The situation of most of the state of the world—I mean the situation of the developing ones in the first place—has turned worse this year. Recently, the world bank released data which show that the flows from developing to developed countries were approximately 15 billion dollars bigger than those from the rich, developed countries to developing countries. Plainly, this means that the weakly developed countries continue to subsidize the advanced countries. The poor continue to subsidize the rich—I mean the relations between states. This is a cruel fact, just the way it is, and we must face things as they are. It is hard to think that the developing countries, which have turned poorer this year, are satisfied and can say that a change for the better has occurred in the world. One cannot say that all of us must live better lives, without solving the existing issues.

We are of the opinion that, indeed, next year an end should be put to this inequitable policy—of inequality, of exploitation, as you would like to call it, of the poor countries by the developed ones.

New economic relations should be achieved. Measures to support the developing nations should be adopted, the world financial system which is an instrument for plundering the developing nations in various ways, should be radically changed.

We firmly emphasize that next year we should do everything in order to come to negotiations, to find solutions jointly, because the developing nations will not be able to stand infinitely this state of affairs.

The world, however, is confronted with other problems, too. Unemployment, the hard condition of young people, drug addiction, shelterlessness and many, many others which you all know. Settlement of problems and a change for the better in the world's life entail solutions to all these issues no matter the state where they crop up or the social system of states. We start from the fact that each government, each state, whichever its system, has the responsibility of taking measures to settle these problems, of doing all they can so that the people of each state, generally the world's peoples may benefit by the gains of science and culture and lead a dignified and free life. Yet, how can we speak of progress as long as reports of international bodies tell us that each day one million children are starving to death, that hundred millions of children have no food to eat, that there still are hundreds of millions of illiterates, to say nothing of other problems?

Taking into consideration the discussions and debates in international bodies, it is necessary, in our opinion, to have a global view of realities. They should be viewed for what they are—not for what we would like them to be, and we should work together to come to joint conclusions on how to settle them, beginning with disarmament and underdevelopment—two fundamental issues that are closely interrelated.

There are, of course, the ecological problems, and many others, too.

But they can only be settled in close connection with disarmament, with the eradication of underdevelopment, with a better organization of interstate relations, of the activity in each country, so that all men, all people can be given pride of place, and their welfare, happiness and peace should be the concern in the focus of all politicians, scientists, governments and heads of state.

It is in this vision, that we see the need for concerted action to change the grave and complex world situation, to give people, at the end of this millenium and at the beginning of the next, new, real prospects that they could concentrate their forces on economic and social development—without the fear of air raids or starvation—in a society where people can assert themselves freely, in keeping with their will and abilities, in close collaboration with other countries and peoples.

Just as until now we are resolved to take an active part in the settlement of these problems, in collaboration with all the other states—and, naturally, first of all with the small and medium, developing and non-aligned countries—take most responsible action for a policy of international peace and collaboration.

We must indeed conclude the Vienna conference, which has been lasting for along time. But it should end with results considering facts in today's world, as far as it is concerned, Romania will not sign a document which wants to take mankind back in some domains, to the situation of 500 years ago, to the age of the inquisition.

Human rights do not mean going back to bigotry, to backwardness, slavery, but mean going ahead, taking into account the gains of science and culture, the necessity to provide people equal living and working conditions in dignity, freedom, direct access to the current breakthroughs in science and culture which keep developing steadily.

I know that this problem is much discussed at the Vienna conference. We have shown—and I want all the representatives of states present here to know—that we want documents making provision for an equal collaboration in Europe to achieve a united Europe in the diversity of social systems, of free and independent nations, respecting the social system, the aspirations, traditions and style of work of each nation. In no way do we want to open the path for various religious sects, agencies, which are well-known and criticized even in the countries which propose such a way.

I considered it necessary to make these specifications now, at the end of the year, because I want our friends, representatives of all states, to know Romania's position on this problem.

We are for a broad collaboration in the Balkans, free of nuclear and chemical weapons but seen in close unity as I have said. Not long ago we took the decision to step up next year our cooperation in production with other states—certainly, we mean developing countries in the first place. We desire to take an active part in the building of production units and contribute to the economic and social development of the countries we shall cooperate with, to ensure progress on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual advantage.

In our opinion, the experience so far gained offers a good basis on which to expand this cooperation which especially as far as developing countries are concerned represents a necessity. We, too, belong in this group and we shall always be linked to these countries. We shall consider ourselves among these countries because we were, and we will always be, on the side of those fighting for free development, for building their own, independent economy.

This is how we see the outgoing year and the prospects of the next year. We are confident that many of the negotiations that have opened may come to a close—not by waiting, however, but taking action, each one according to his force and capacity, and urging peoples to tightly close their ranks and be more active in the fight for solutions to the problems. We do trust the peoples' force, their increased consciousness as there is no people which does not want peace and liberty, which does not want to be the master of its fate.

That is why, we confidently look to the coming year and to the future. Confidently but not thinking that we may rest, but believing that we must be more active, strengthen the solidarity of all those that wish peace, that wish life on our planet.

I would like to once again thank you for the wishes conveyed to the Romanian people and, in my turn, I wish the peoples and the states you represent success in their economic and social development, in the development of industry, agriculture, science culture, education, of all the sectors that contribute to raising the civilization standard of a people on a par with the tremendous achievements mankind has scored in all areas.

I wish your peoples to achieve everything they set themselves to, in the interest of their welfare, happiness and independence.

I wish a good cooperation between Romania and your countries and peoples.

I kindly ask you to convey to your heads of state, governments, to your peoples my best wishes for the new year.

I wish you all success in your entire activity of developing the relations between our countries, a good year with ever better results in all areas.

Good health and happiness. A happy New Year.

Ceausescu Queried on Foreign, Domestic Issues

AU0401155189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Dec 88 p 1, 5

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview for FRG Newspaper DIE WELT," on 19 December in Bucharest]

[Text] As announced, on 19 December 1988 Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, received Manfred Schell, chief editor of FRG newspaper DIE WELT, to whom he gave the following interview:

Question: To begin with, we beg you Mr President to give us your opinion on the current state of relations between the SR of Romania and the FRG. What do you think are the development prospects of these relations?

Answer: Relations between the SR of Romania and the FRG can be assessed as normal. More than 20 years have elapsed since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries, which, at the time, was not only of major significance for our two countries, but also for the overall development in Europe and throughout the world. This was followed by a period during which relations underwent intensive development, particularly in the economic and other spheres. A certain slowdown and stagnation in the bilateral economic exchanges has occurred in recent years, which, in our view, runs counter to the interest of the two countries and to the overall policy of cooperation in Europe and throughout the world. Maybe the impact of the economic crisis and the complicated problems raised by world financial developments exerted a certain influence on economic ties between our countries.

Proceeding from the current stage of our relations—which we consider as being below the potential of the two countries—we favor a more intensive development of overall relations between Romania and the FRG and a resumption of economic and scientific-technological cooperation. We, for our part, believe that the highest level that has so far been reached in economic and other exchanges can be exceeded in 2 to 3 years' time at the latest and that we should further develop this cooperation, which is in accordance with the interests of the two countries and of cooperation and detente in Europe and throughout the world.

Question: There is a lot of talk about reforms, changes, and modernizations in the world, including in the socialist countries. Proceeding from Romania's experience, we would like to know your opinion, Mr President, about these strivings and discussions. What concerns do you have in this respect in your country and what steps are being taken along these lines?

Answer: Romania and, of course, the RCP, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress in 1965, started from the premise that socialism, like every other social development in a given country, is being realized in a different way in different countries and different periods, that there is no "model" or "set pattern," and that the general laws of socioeconomic development and the principles of scientific socialism must be applied in a different way by each people and country.

Second, we proceeded from the fact that the problems of social management, planning, and overall activity must always be tackled in close correlation with the development stage of the forces of production, science, and culture, and be applied accordingly during each stage of society's development.

If one does not act in accordance with these principles, contradictory social developments and stagnation may result.

Thanks to the application of these principles, Romania has carried out large-scale changes and reforms in its socioeconomic organization, political system, and the development of the revolutionary workers democracy. We proceeded from the fact that socialism is being built with the people and for the people. We have thus created our own democratic system, which facilitates the participation of workers, peasants, intellectuals, and all social categories in working out and implementing the entire policy for the country's socioeconomic development.

I do not wish to dwell on this point now, as I dealt with it in detail just a few weeks ago.

However, I would like to stress that the current concerns of the socialist countries as well as of the developed capitalist countries and of nearly all developing countries with implementing reforms aimed at modernizing and perfecting activities represent a law-government prerequisite, so to say, of the process of development.

How are these reforms carried out in one given country or another? These are questions that depend on each individual state, on the respective political forces, and on the way in which the people of a given country want to implement changes and modernization.

As far as we are concerned, we set out from the fact that all the changes we are making must consolidate socialist principles and socialist ownership, must ensure the application of the latest achievements of science and technology in all spheres, and must lead to raising the general level of development and the people's material and intellectual living standard.

In this spirit, the recent joint session of the party Central Committee and other democratic bodies—which was attended by thousands of party-state activists, workers, peasants, and intellectuals directly involved in production—discussed in detail all these problems and set forth guidelines for the development of socialism in Romania and of economy, science, culture, and the living standard up to the year 2000 and beyond.

We believe that the current forms of leadership are in accordance with Romanian realities.

Of course, we are concerned with further improving these forms of leadership and we are currently giving priority to problems connected with the scientific organization and modernization of production.

Our plan is to ensure the development of the country on the basis of the latest scientific achievements by the year 2000. As I said on that occasion, we want Romania to become a country with a strong science and culture, which will enable it to continue to play an important role not only with regard to its own development, but also in the overall development of world science and culture.

We want to develop the forces of production and, at the same time, provide work for the citizens of the country, for all young people. We proceed from the fact that one of the obligations of any society or state, regardless of social system, must be to ensure working, educational, housing, cultural, and living conditions for all citizens.

Failure to ensure jobs for all citizens, primarily for the young generation, is tantamount to failure to fulfill one's obligations to one's own people. We are well aware of the need to introduce modern technologies and electronics, but we believe that this should be done by primarily taking into account man's needs. Man and all that he represents should be our prime concern, hence we should ensure ever better working and living conditions for the people. Only thus will our society—and, I repeat, any society—fulfill its obligations and secure its future!

We want Romania to be among the countries in the third millenium that have a high level of economic, scientific, and cultural development, and a high standard of living, from which all citizens benefit in the same way.

Question: Esteemed Mr President, Western mass information media published—sometimes in a contradictory way—reports on the modernization of localities in Romania. We would like very much to learn from you what concept lies at the basis of this action, what are its current stage and future prospects.

Answer: Indeed, particularly the Western press has written a lot which does not correspond to the truth, which either demonstrates ignorance or sometimes even ill will, although the role of the press and of the information media is to present the truth and contribute to better knowledge and friendship among peoples.

As far as the problem of the modernization and systematization of Romanian localities is concerned, 20 years have now elapsed since our territorial-administrative reorganization, which was an integral part of the process of improving our socialist society. We abolished the regions—which were only an intermediary solution—and the districts and created a simpler system of the country's organization. We established the commune and town as basic units, all of which were included in counties.

On that occasion, we completed a first reorganization and concentration of our towns and communes and established the principles of territorial systematization and organization. We started from the assumption that we should gradually close the gap between working and living conditions in towns and villages and that we should gradually reach the stage, within a clearly defined span of time, when all Romania's citizens, regardless of whether they live in towns or communes, can fully enjoy all the country's socioeconomic and cultural achievements and development.

Industrialization has been carried out on a large scale. Whereas in 1945, 80 percent of the population was still living in the country and was engaged in agricultural work, the figure has been reduced to 28 percent today. This has undoubtedly led to a certain movement of people from villages into towns, a process that has been and is going on throughout the world.

Many people have abandoned the villages and moved to towns. We concentrated our efforts on the towns during this phase of vigorous industrial development, so that the necessary apartments could be ensured for the workers and intellectuals who came from the villages. There are towns that have grown five- to six-fold. The population of Bucharest itself has doubled within 20 years. By transforming developed communes into towns, 54 new towns have been created, and in addition to that, numerous villages and communes were incorporated into towns. We also aimed at strongly developing industry in all the country's counties. We have an overall number of 40 counties. There is no county without 5-6 industrial centers created or developed in the past 20 years. In some of them, we practically created industry from scratch.

We also took measures in the sphere of agriculture. We have abandoned the old view that agriculture is of secondary importance. We think that, together with industry, agriculture is an important factor, and that we cannot develop society without developing agriculture. For this reason, agriculture and agricultural production underwent extensive development during this period, and quite a number of facilities were built: a comprehensive network of mechanization centers, scientific centers, animal breeding farms, and so forth.

A certain improvement has occurred in the organization of communes. We have paid attention to problems in the sphere of education, health, and cultural life, but, all in all, the communes have been somewhat neglected. We did not have the required strength to develop the communes at the same time with the towns, although, I repeat, many changes have occurred in the communes, too, and quite a few of them have already acquired the aspect of city centers. In view of our country's current development level and of the fact that the housing problem has nearly been solved in the towns and that we would like to keep the population in the villages—we are not in favor of a concentration into towns!—we decided to pay greater attention to implementing the program that was adopted 20 years ago in order to ensure the organization of communes on a modern basis. It will, of course, take a long time to realize this project, but our aim is to achieve a radical improvement for the communes over the next 10 years. There will be plenty to do even after the year 2000. But, what do we want, after all? First of all, we want to create favorable conditions in the educational sector, to improve health care, and ensure cultural activities, while undoubtedly developing agriculture, industrial activities, and services in each commune, so that all citizens living there can practically enjoy the same general conditions as in towns.

We want to build apartments for all experts and workers that are employed in communes. First of all, I repeat, we want to resolve in the next 5 years the general problems of all communes. Our villages should gradually be given a new face. All citizens wishing to build dwellings will have to observe the prescribed systematization regulations. As a matter of fact, many are doing this and have done it so far. Actually, the number of communes will remain unchanged. A number of villages will be incorporated into the existing communes, whereas remote villages will continue to exist as separate units but belonging to the commune, as is the case now. It is estimated that each commune, aside from its basic center, will also consist of 3-5 villages.

At the same time, some of the currently existing communes which are the seats of agroindustrial councils—an agroindustrial council being a specialized body that runs agricultural activities in a given area, which usually covers 4-5 communes—will be developed into agroindustrial towns. However, I repeat that our intention is to gradually transform all communes into small agroindustrial towns. In these centers, we will broadly develop industrial activities that cannot be achieved in all communes and ensure higher forms of education. The first stage of high-school education, that is the generalized 10-year system, is already present in communes. The second stage of high school education, that is another 2 years of study, will be introduced into the newly created towns, and young people from surrounding communes will be able to go there for their studies.

As of 1990, we will generally introduce the 12-year education for all young people. We would like some of these young people to study in these centers and not go into towns, as we want to keep a part of our youth in the communes. We will increase our construction activities in these localities, because we have more cadres and workers there, and we will support the citizens' building efforts. Of course, we do not intend to build dwellings for all citizens, because that is not possible. However, we will support those who want to build new houses. Those who want to stay in the houses where they have been living so far can stay there as long as they want to; but one can already see that the people want to come closer to the center, where they can find industry, trade, schools, and other activities.

People are more realistic than the Western press and they can judge for themselves what is to their benefit or what is not!

As a matter of fact, everything we build is done through consultation with and by the decision of the people, as we do not wish—and it is not possible—to do anything that is contrary to the people's desires and needs!

The thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people was not formulated on paper, alone; it is a practical reality of the activity in our country. Everybody can come and see it in practice and realize that the whole people are fully endorsing our policy of socialist construction and comprehensive social modernization. We conceive of modernization as a process leading to the creation of dignified living conditions for the people and all citizens, regardless of their living place or social origin. All are citizens with equal rights and must have good living conditions!

We are doing all we can to attain these goals and our people can see, year by year, that these targets and programs are being implemented.

Question: There have been reproaches abroad that centers of the German and Hungarian minorities are being destroyed. What can you tell us in this respect?

Answer: It is indeed difficult to say something on this topic!

The best way to assess the situation is to consider the urban development in areas also inhabited by citizens of other nationalities, the new towns built in these counties, and the expansion of industry, education, and culture. They are better proof than anything else. Will the fact that we ensure better working and educational conditions, and that we improve cultural activities and health care be detrimental to the citizens in the respective communes, where ethnic Romanians live side by side with citizens of German or Hungarian nationality, or will it be to their benefit?

As a matter of fact, I have learned that an FRG journalist was interested in visiting Romania. According to my information, he did not want to be accompanied by anybody, and he visited two different zones, among them one in which Romanian citizens of German nationality also live. By chance, I also visited the respective village—Gottlob, which belongs to the commune of Lovrin, Timis County—at the start of the school year, because there has been an agricultural research station in this village for many years. I also met there with the mayor of this commune which, according to reports in an FRG paper—I do not know which one—had been destroyed. Not only that we do not destroy these centers, we actually want to develop them!

Regarding traditions, we advocate their preservation and development. By this, we mean to preserve only things that are good! Because feudalism and, before that, slavery were also part of the so-called "traditions." We consider that capitalism is also part of these traditions, and will stay like that forever.

We have other concepts. We liquidated the "traditions" of the exploiting classes in Romania and, at the appropriate time, both the Romanians and the citizens of German and Hungarian nationality rose to struggle against them. On the other hand, we preserve what is good!

Question: Mr President, recently Romania celebrated the 70th anniversary of the creation of the unified national state. How do you assess the importance of this event in your history? Is there a revival of the concept of nation in our days? Are nations and nation states a reality of our times?

Answer: Indeed, 1 December 1988 marked the 70th anniversary of Transylvania's unification with the country—as it was expressed at that time—and the creation of the unified Romanian national state. This was an event of epoch-making importance for our people—the fulfillment of the centuries-old aspirations of the Romanian to live in a single state. As early as 1600, Mihai the Brave achieved this aspiration for the first time. True, later empires did not like to this idea and it was a short-lived unification; however, the Romanians in the three feudal states—Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania—constantly struggled and made efforts to achieve a unified state.

I have to mention that the Romanian population of German nationality, through its leading representatives—and the populations in general—unanimously supported the unification in 1918. Numerous progressive and advanced people of Hungarian nationality and of other nationalities were also among the ranks of those who supported the unification.

Therefore, we greatly appreciate not only the unification, but we also believe that the creation of the unified national Romanian State was a historic necessity for our nation and for its future.

As a matter of fact, this act was part and parcel of the general historic process of the creation of national states in Germany and in other states as well. This process was delayed in Romania because of the then foreign empires—the Tsarist Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. When they collapsed, conditions were created to achieve the aspiration and unanimous desire of the people to live in a unified country.

However, the process of the formation of nations has not yet ended in the world, because there are still numerous peoples—especially in Africa and Asia where colonialist domination continued for a long time—whose formation as a nation will still take some time. Thus the process of the creation of nations and of national states continues and will continue for a long time to come.

At the same time, the process of rapprochement and of developing cooperation among nations is also taking place.

We believe that both these processes are correct and necessary; they do not exclude, but rather complement each other.

It is necessary to pursue the course of the formation of nations and of independent national states and to respect their independence and sovereignty. At the same time, the normal process of rapprochement and cooperation between nations, which will be unavoidable in the future, has to be borne in mind. It is still hard to say which course this process will take in practice. There are different opinions and attempts. The tendency for the "big ones" to have the decisive say can now be ascertained, including in Europe, but the normal course will probably take the direction of very close cooperation by respecting, however, the independence of each nation; I am personally in favor of such a course. I am not for the isolation of nations, but for their cooperation and, if you want to put it like this, for their integration; however, an integration in the sense of preserving the independence of everyone! Then we will have better living conditions for all European people—but also for all people throughout the world!

Question: Mr President, what are the political, economic, and cultural prospects of the Romanian citizens of German nationality?

Answer: When I defined the prospects of the development of socialism and Romania's development in general, I referred to all the citizens of our country, without any difference, that is to say, also to the Romanian citizens of German, Hungarian, or other nationalities. Here I would only like to specify that our country's citizens of Romanian nationality account for more than 91 percent of the population today.

Romania is a unified national state. The existence of nationalities is the result of a specific historical development. Our party has always advocated the complete equality of all citizens. After the implementation of the revolution for social and national liberation in August 1944, and then after the transition to socialist construction in Romania in 1948 we took steps and ensured full equality of rights for all our citizens, and did away with all inequalities of the past. Similarly, we saw to it that the situation immediately after 1944—caused by Hitlerism—did not affect the Romanian citizens of German nationality. The mood which prevailed in Europe at that time is known!

One can say—and I also want to mention it here—that we have solved all aspects of the problem of equality in such a way that we are now one of the few countries that have acted in a humanitarian and democratic way in this respect.

It is our wish for the future that all our country's citizens, irrespective of their descent, will remain in the country, work in complete unity to implement our country's development programs, and create dignified and free living, working, and cultural conditions. All prerequisites for participating in the political activity and in the leadership of all sectors of activity are guaranteed to them!

There is no discrimination whatsoever because of one's origin or of any other nature, and we will not permit it. All the citizens of our country, irrespective of their descent, are citizens with equal rights and participate actively in the entire political and social activity.

We have a broad democratic election system. Several candidates are nominated—and this has been the case for 20 years now! Anyone, according to his abilities, can be elected to any leading body, from bottom to top. In all our bodies there are also Romanian citizens of German nationality and of other nationalities.

One may say that a wonderful future lies ahead of us. By the year 2000, I want to repeat, Romania will be a country with a high level of development in all areas. Our aim is to rank among the countries with positive results in the field of development, and we are convinced that we will achieve this!

These are the prospects for all our citizens. However, in order to benefit from them they have to work, learn, and become citizens with a high educational standard and comprehensive knowledge. They should be able to say that they really are citizens of a free country, a country that is building its future according to its own desires!

Question: All countries in the world are confronted with more or less difficult economic problems. You have said that Romania has similar problems. What are your country's efforts to overcome them, especially as regards energy and raw material supplies?

Answer: The world economic situation is quite complex and serious.

First I would like to mention that the gap between the rich and poor, between rich and poor countries has widened in the past 10 years. This is a well-known thing. The developed—that is the rich—countries have accumulated many riches from the developing countries. On the other hand, the developing countries have become increasingly poorer. In our opinion, these differences are very serious and they have to be eliminated. One cannot speak of peace and cooperation while this situation continues.

In our opinion, the world economic and financial system is unjust. It serves a small group of states. But maybe I am wrong to formulate it this way. In fact, it serves solely a small group of people from the developed countries, and not the whole population in those countries. For instance, it is hard to believe that this system is equitable and just when—precisely in the developed countries—there are tens of millions of unemployed and when 30-40 percent of the young people, including graduates of higher education, are unable to find a job. A system that does not guarantee proper working conditions for its citizens proves that it has very great deficiencies! Even if organized on the basis of capitalist principles, the economic system has to guarantee jobs for the people, and especially—I want to say it again—it has to secure jobs for young people. The fact that not all young people can study, because they have no economic and material conditions, and that the housing problem has not been solved creates a very difficult situation for a considerable part of the population. And then there are the drug consumption and other social problems, including terrorist acts, which are closely linked to this general situation.

I am mentioning all this because—even under these conditions—we have taken precautions to ensure that the consequences of this worldwide economic crisis does not have too strong an effect on Romania's development.

As far as the rate of development, the speedy implementation of some of our projects, and our economic relations with various states, including the FRG, are concerned, there have been certain negative effects. However, they were not of such a nature as to hamper the implementation of our general development programs, the fulfillment of which took us a little longer than planned, but, on the whole, we have progressed.

We have ensured continuous wage increases in this period. We have ensured the stability of prices, and we keep them under strict control. Although we have had to pay back great debts—and we have paid back a major part of them—we have not reduced investments.

On the contrary, we have implemented great works of national interest in this period, such as the Danube-Black Sea Canal, the work to modernize our capital and everything connected to this, the development of industry, agriculture, and, above all, housing construction.

We have made great efforts to achieve all this but not such efforts as those described or mentioned by some mass media in the West. We have constantly ensured a moderate improvement in our people's standard of living. This year we decided to increase the pay of all working people. Up to now we have ensured a pay increase for more than 50 percent of the working personnel, beginning with those earning low wages. In their case, the pay increase amounts to more than 25 percent! Next year by August we will have concluded the general pay increase for all working people. We have also increased pensions, some by 33 percent—I am also referring to lower pensions.

Therefore, we have tried and constantly try to ensure a continuous improvement in our people's standard of living in general.

We have ensured and propose to constantly ensure jobs for all our homeland's citizens and for all our youth. In our system, the state bodies have to make sure that the graduates from all schools will receive jobs.

We have some difficulties with energy. Despite great efforts, these difficulties still exist. We have made great investments, but some coal-fueled power plants do not operate properly. We have also delayed—and this is our own fault—the implementation of the nuclear energy program, because for a long time there were reservations in our country with regard to the question of whether we should build nuclear power plants or not. Part of the reservations were certainly justified but, in fact, we are 10 years late. However, we hope that we will solve the energy problem in the next 2 years for sure!

We are determined—and our programs stipulate this—to actively participate in cooperation with other states, because we understand very well that today no country is able to solve all its problems by itself, without participating in the international division of labor. We are paying great attention to relations with the socialist countries, but also to relations with the developed capitalist countries, and with the Common Market. We pay great attention to relations with the developing countries, not only from an economical but also from a political viewpoint, and beginning with next year our aim is to achieve broader international cooperation.

Making efforts in this direction, I believe that it is possible to find solutions to the serious world economic problems in order to ensure new relations of equality and mutual respect, relations that will guarantee a more active support for the developing countries.

Question: Esteemed Mr President, not only governments, but also the people are concerned with questions of disarmament today. As a member country of a military alliance, Romania has come up with a novelty in this area: It has unilaterally reduced its military expenditure by 5 percent. We would like to ask you to present your position on current discussions regarding the elimination of nuclear weapons from Europe. In this context, what importance do you attach to the requirements of security, especially for European countries? What importance do you attach to conventional disarmament in Europe?

Answer: The world political situation, and especially the danger of war continues to be quite great [as published]. With the signing of the treaty on intermediate-range missiles between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, certain steps have been taken, but they are only small steps. Huge quantities of nuclear weapons that could destroy mankind several times over still exist. Nuclear tests are being continued, and there is an intention to perfect and to manufacture new nuclear weapons. Work on the so-called "star wars" continues and only a short time ago NATO discussed the modernization and development of short-range tactical nuclear weapons, which means that their destructive potential would increase fourfold. To all this we have to add chemical and conventional weapons.

It is true that the peoples are concerned about these facts. Governments discuss these problems, but they do not do what they ought to in order to meet the masses' desire, namely to prevent war, which would inevitable turn into a nuclear war that would destroy the very existence of life on earth.

It is true that Romania has taken an initiative of its own by reducing its weapons and military expenditure by 5 percent. We did this in our own interest, but also to set an example and to prove that every country is capable of the same commitment.

Recently, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, declared the Soviet Union's intention to unilaterally reduce troops and arms. We welcome this and hope that this will be implemented in the shortest time possible.

However, problems continue to be serious and it is necessary for all states—above all those in Europe, because the most powerful military means are concentrated here—to turn to negotiations on radically reducing conventional weapons and on eliminating chemical weapons. It is also necessary that the Soviet Union and the United States continue their negotiations on the 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons. At the same time, we also believe that it is necessary to start negotiations on the conclusion of a general agreement on the elimination of all nuclear weapons in several stages.

It is Europe's obligation to participate in these negotiations; however, other states, actually all states in the world, must also take part in them. The problems of disarmament and the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons cannot be solved by the superpowers or by a few states alone. All states, irrespective of their size and social system, must participate in solving these problems.

I am stressing the role of the European countries, because most of the weapons are concentrated in this part of the world, and thus the greatest efforts must start out from here.

We hope that agreement will soon be reached in Vienna, so that negotiations can be initiated and the reduction of nuclear disarmament can be started.

Question: Mr President, in public statements you have repeatedly used the term "united Europe," which could make a significant contribution to solving the complicated problems in the international arena. What characteristics would be decisive for achieving your idea of a "united Europe"?

Answer: Indeed, I have mentioned several times Romania's opinion on security and cooperation in Europe. We hope that the Vienna Conference on Disarmament and Cooperation will conclude as soon as possible with good results and that the interests of the European peoples—to live in peace and to cooperate closely in all areas in order to ensure the independent development of each state—are respected.

It is necessary to deal with problems by taking account of the new realities in the present-day world, in all areas. The political, philosophical, and scientific concepts of 500 years ago were different from the way they are viewed by the world and by each people today given the development of the forces of production, of science, and culture. It is difficult to return to obsolete concepts, which belong to the past! All peoples, irrespective of their social system, have to organize their life in accordance with the achievements of science and culture and have to look ahead, not back. Anyone who looks back—if he is influential—will make his people regress. This has been proven by history!

We live at a time of tremendous achievements in science, knowledge, culture, and in the forces of production, and it is necessary for cooperation in all areas in Europe to be based on these principles. In this way, Europe can and must play a more important role in its own development, but also in the development of the whole world.

This is the spirit in which we see the problem of Europe's unity, which we view as an entity with diversity, irrespective of philosophical and political beliefs and of differing social systems. It is a unity that is based on the principles of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs, a unity which should aim at the socioeconomic progress of each nation.

Why do we speak of the "unity of Europe" or of a "united Europe?" Because we do not want a Europe that is incorporated in a soldierly system where Europe's policy is decided in one capital city or another. We wish "Europe's policy" to be established by the peoples of Europe, who should jointly decide about it, irrespective of whether they are large or small, and regardless of their social system.

We want Europe to be a Europe of science, culture, progress, material and intellectual welfare, a Europe that should play a more important role in the general development of the world, a Europe of peace and cooperation.

And this can only be a "Europe of free nations!"

I think the most correct formulation would be: "A united Europe of independent and free nations."

This serves the interests of Europe and of the whole world!

In conclusion, I would like to convey best wishes for progress and peace to the readers of your paper and to all FRG people!

'Regret' Over U.S. Downing of Libyan Planes

LD0401141489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1320 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 5 (TANJUG)—A spokesman for the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry expressed Yugoslavia's regret over yesterday's incident over the Mediterranean when two U.S. F-14s downed two Libyan Mig fighters.

The spokesman said the tense atmosphere in the region was concerning and said everyone had to refrain from any activity which did not serve to calm and overcome the tension.

Commentary Condemns Downing

LD0501160089 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Milika Sundic commentary: "An Act Without Justification"]

[Text] The U.S.-Libyan incident in the international waters of the Mediterranean, when two Libyan military aircraft were downed, could turn into something much worse unless both sides—Libya and the United States—do their utmost to prevent it. There is no justification whatsoever for the U.S. action, since there is no obvious evidence that the two Libyan aircraft could have threatened the U.S. carrier "John F. Kennedy" or any of the escorting ships, all the more so since the Libyan aircraft were unarmed and were on a reconnaissance mission. The downing of the two Libyan aircraft occured at a time when the world has been following with great concern U.S. intentions in connection with the as-yet-unconfirmed claim that a chemical weapons plant is under construction in Libya.

However, even if the U.S. claim proves to be correct, the Americans have no right whatsoever to take any military action against Libya. In any case, Libya has already called for an international inspection of the installations at the above-mentioned plant. The United States has not reacted to this call, which, practically speaking, leads one to believe that their accusations are arbitrary. This view is shared by the rest of the world, including the U.S. West European allies, who do not favor any new confrontation with Libya.

As expected, Libya has lodged a complaint with the UN Security Council, but this obviously will not be of much use. Libya has also indicated the possibility of retaliatory measures, to which it obviously has the right; but, in our view, it would be much better if it would not avail itself of this right. For, each new incident could potentially turn into a conflict of wider implications, which would not be good for Libya or anyone else. Who knows, perhaps the Americans can hardly wait for Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi to do something to give them an excuse to settle accounts with both Libya and him personally. They tried this once before, in mid-April 1986; and fortunately that was the end of the whole incident.

At that time the world condemned the U.S. action and Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi had enough sense to reconcile himself with the fact—still valid today—that in the world of today, full of injustice, it is difficult for truth and justice to win.

The action against Libya by the Reagan administration 16 days before his 8-year mandate expires is a disservice to the world at the beginning of a year which was promising more peace and understanding than any in the postwar period. Reagan could have found a more honorable way of withdrawing from political life at a time when other world leaders are trying to make even greater contributions to the efforts to resolve hotbeds of crisis and international conflicts. Unfortunately, he failed to do so; and the world will not forgive him for it. In any case, this has not been a good advertisment, either for the incoming administration of George Bush or for U.S. adherence to the principles of international law.

Whether we agree with Al-Qadhdhafi or not, there is only one way to describe the U.S. action in the international waters of the Mediterranean yesterday: Arrogant and very dangerous for peace.

Further Reportage on Visit of Qian Qichen

Relations Discussed With Dizdarevic

LD0501173289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1622 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jan (TANJUG)—Today in the Palace of the Federation Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received PRC Foreign Affairs Minister Qian Qichen. In lengthy, cordial and friendly talks relations between the SFRY and the PRC were judged to be developing to the benefit of mutual interests and goals, and on principles of lasting value. In this connection President Dizdarevic stressed that relations with the PRC are of special importance to Yugoslavia and that as a result they are the constant concern of the highest Yugoslav leadership. However, he stressed that despite the overall positive cooperation, "we cannot be satisfied with the level of economic cooperation" in which, during last year, there was a certain decline in trade.

Minister Qichen stressed that, although there is a temporary decline in trade, this does not mean that the PRC's interest in cooperation with Yugoslavia is diminished. This is, rather, a consequence of the current difficulties facing the two countries' economies. Interest was expressed that the mixed committee on the two countries' economies consider all possibilities to improve economic cooperation, with special emphasis on developing stable forms of cooperation.

There was also discussion of the most recent world developments which constitute a phase of significant positive changes. President Dizdarevic stressed that the PRC is making a great contribution to these through its involvement on the basis of principles which strengthen the prospects for peace, security and equal cooperation.

Minister Qichen stressed that Yugoslavia and China have the same, or similar views, on the development of international relations. He stressed that the PRC very much appreciates the Yugoslavia's role in the world, as one of the founders of the Nonaligned Movement, and that China received with satisfaction the decision that Yugoslavia should be the host of the ninth summit and president of the movement in the coming period.

There was also discussion of the internal development in Yugoslavia and in the PRC.

The talks were also attended by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar and Ma Xusheng, the PRC ambassador in the SFRY.

Loncar Holds Luncheon

LD0501194689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1834 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 5 (TANJUG)—Economic relations between Yugoslavia and China are and will continue to be the realistic basis for and a major contribution to the strengthening of all other forms of bilateral cooperation, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar said in a toast to Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen at the luncheon given in his honour here today.

China's activities in the foreign policy domain give the world an additional dimension of stability, while its decisive steps as regards the economic and social reforms at home give an invaluable contribution to the development of socialism, Loncar added.

International relations are characterized by an easing of tension and there are visible results in the settlement of some regional problems, the Yugoslav foreign minister said, to which the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as China and the nonaligned, have given a major contribution. In the quest for solutions to key world issues, the nonaligned urge the strengthening of peace and security, equality and development for all, Loncar stressed. In this context, he pointed to the need for streamlining the movement in accordance with the changed conditions of international reality.

The Chinese minister also noted that the international situation has been considerably improved, that confrontation was replaced with dialogue and tension with detente, although all sources of instability have not been removed.

China sees Yugoslavia's selection to host the ninth nonaligned summit in 1989 as another proof of its great prestige in the movement itself and the world as a whole, Qian said. He stressed that Yugoslavia was the first socialist country to launch reforms nad expressed a firm conviction that the Yugoslav people and party will resolve all the difficulties in this regard.

Since China launched its reforms, it has recorded great success in opening towards the world, but has also faced many problems and difficulties, Qian said and added he was optimistic as to their outcome.

He underlined that the Chinese-Yugoslav friendship lies on firm foundations, that it endured historical temptations and that it can be an example of cooperation between socialist countries.

Global Issues Discussed With Loncar

LD0501203889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jan (TANJUG)—The world is breathing more easily because general detente and an orientation toward dialogue have reduced the danger of armed conflicts, but the deep gulf between the developed and the developing countries remains one of the most obvious problems which could seriously endanger the stability and security of the international community.

This is one of the joint assessments expressed this evening in the talks between Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar and PRC Foreign Affairs Minister Qian Qichen. The two ministers had talks in Belgrade yesterday as well, when the accent was on the development of bilateral relations, about which it was said that they are developing very successfully and comprehensively.

The North-South topic is a source of common concern to the Yugoslav and PRC foreign ministries. Both sides confirmed that they see the development of all countries as a basic right which must be respected in international relations. The economic conflict between North and South and the revival of the developing countries' economies are, Loncar said, fields which the Nonaligned Movement, in its future activity, should attach exceptional importance to. For China, however, this is a reason for thought about the need to introduce a new political order in the world, something Qian Qichen spoke about in detail.

The Yugoslav foreign affairs secretary provided detailed information on Nonaligned Movement's further plans and its intention to modernize itself and become more effective in terms of action, more focussed and more rational. Loncar also familiarized his Chinese colleague with the strategic goals of the movement and its policies, which also involve strengthening relations with other important factors in world events—China, the United

States, the USSR, the EC, Japan, etc. The Yugoslav-Chinese ministerial dialogue brought to the surface once again confirmation of the fact that the long-term orientations of the Nonaligned Movement and the PRC are virtually identical.

Qian Qichen said that for China cooperation with the Nonaligned Movement, which it even now devotes great attention to, will be even more important when the intimated transformation of the movement is implemented. In his view the up coming nonaligned summit in Belgrade will be an event which is important not only for the nonaligned countries but also for the entire world.

The Chinese foreign affairs minister acquainted the Yugoslav side in detail with the current developments in the relations between China and its neighbors, primarily the USSR. It did not go unnoticed that, speaking about the normalization of ties with Moscow, he said that China and the USSr have relations "of good-neighborliness, on the basis of peaceful coexistence, equality and respect for mutual interests." To this he immediately added that the normalization of relations with the USSR Should not have a negative impact on China's relations with its other partners.

Qichen drew attention to the importance of the recent visit of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to Beijing. For 34 years the two countries have not achieved direct contact at such a high level. As regards the problem of Cambodia, the Chinese foreign affairs minister believes that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops is the basis for the resolution of this crises. Qian Qichen, in his talks with Budimir Loncar, also advocated the Unification of Korea and in this connection he supported the viewpoint defended by Pyongyang.

Loncar, noting the interest of his guest in developments in Europe, spoke in great detail about the ways in which the old continent intends to step forward into the 21st century. He stressed, inter alia, that dialogue and detente in the political sphere, are what Europe is today offering to the world as a model for tomorrow. Loncar said that the European shifts in quality are for general stability in the world [sentence as received].

Milosavljevic Receives Qian Qichen

LD0501133889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1236 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jan (TANJUG)—Milos Milosavljevic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council and chairman of the Yugoslav side to the mixed Yugoslav-Chinese Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, received the PRC minister of foreign affairs, Qian Qichen today. In the course of a lengthy friendly talk, views were exchanged on ways to further advance and expand economic cooperation between the two countries. Reference was also made to the coming session of the mixed Yugoslav-Chinese committee for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation due to take place in Beijing this year.

Dizdarevic Receives Message From Gorbachev

LD0501212389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2000 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 5 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Presidency Raif Dizdarevic has received Vadim Loginov, the Soviet Union's ambassador in Belgrade, who handed him a message from Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Gorbachev's message to the Yugosalv Presidency underscores interest in the further development of regular political dialogue on the state and party planes between the two countries, in the spirit of the traditionally good friendly relations.

Racan Article on Party Transformation

AU0201194589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 88 p 6

[Second installment of an article written by Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium: "The Renewal of Ideological - Theoretical Dignity"]

[Text] It is assessed that the gap between the proclaimed and actual social role and position is very wide. According to its program the LC is supposed to be the leading ideopolitical force in acting through the convincingness of its views: the LC should be less and less a factor of power and more and more a factor which is creating and developing socialist awareness; the LC should give up its monopolistic and commanding social role because it does not want to assume the workers class and working people's power through the state apparatus; to other people the LC should not appear as the ruling party which governs the people, nor should it appear to have teacher-pupil relations, because its relations with others should increasingly be based on an equal footing; the social role of the LC is not that of a superior, alienated political power; the leading political role of the LC will eventually wither away with the development and consolidation of the universal forms of direct socialist democracy, and so forth. What happened to the orientations of this program? Why have they not taken place?

The social position and role of the LC have for a long time been going in the opposite direction of these orientations. Judging by everything, the reasons for this are not of a single nature but are multifaceted.

First, these orientations have not been consistently worked out in the program. In fact, it could be shown that the LCY Program contains elements of different concepts of the LC. For instance, the LC appears as the vanguard while the Communists excel in their ideological-theoretical and moral characteristics. This refers to the edifying role of the Communists. The party mobilizes and directs the workers class and its activities toward its own emancipation. This refers to the LC as the leading social force, and so forth. Second, the characteristics of such an LC concept have mainly appeared within the framework of attempts to theoretically, and in practice, negate Stalinism and the Stalinist type of party. Third, certain prerequisites have not been fulfilled. These prerequisites were essential for the realization of the orientations concerning primarily the question of whether the party concept corresponds to the concept of socialism and socialist forces. One should bear in mind that as a rule, the party's actual practice should correspond to the real state of these relations.

Today, one should particularly bear in mind the fact that the determination of the social role and position of the LC must not significantly deviate from the real conditions and opportunities for social practice, that it must not deviate independently and in a voluntarist way from the specific historic circumstances and situation. Moreover, it would be bad if the LC's role and position were determined by the necessity and uncontrolled pressure of social processes independently from critical awareness and orientations which face these processes in the LC itself.

The social crisis and the tendency of the LC being absorbed by it clearly prove that the program and ideological-theoretical inadequacy of the LC cannot today be compensated for by its political power. Therefore the question of the LC's ideological-theoretical dignity and its creative role in society has become very topical. A question mark has been placed over a significant portion of the LC's work, the method of its work, the principle on which it is organized, and on its competence.

Separation of the Party and the State

Various discussions as well as social processes have made the problem of relations between the party and the state very topical. The views on this are different, often diametrically opposed. On the one hand the separation of the party from the state is demanded categorically, even treated as the main prerequisite of every democratization of the LC, of society, and of social reform, while on the other hand there are views according to which this is impossible or unnecessary. However, these views have different ideological-theoretical foundations. This applies to the defense of the one-party system and the party as the ruling party without which there would by no socialism as much as it applies to the liberals' defense of the multiparty system as the most complete and the most developed form of political democracy and political pluralism. According to the second view, the ruling party sees in other parties a kind of democratic control, competition, an alternative. This seriously calls for the reexamination of the chief view of the LC concerning the separation of the party from the state, the party from the power. Many, well-grounded questions have been raised: What are the possible forms of democracy? Why is the question of political democracy and political pluralism always reduced to the multiparty system? Have the characters of the party and the character of authority only a single aspect and are they problematic? The things are somewhat clearer in the case of the classical party and classical authority.

The LC has distanced itself from the state and authority in principle but its members are present at almost all state and authority levels. This is why it is not accidental that the LC's authority and state-making characteristics have a constant preponderance over the role of determining the ideopolitical direction. This represents the root of the defense of the one-party model as well as an argument for a multiparty system. The LC must divorce itself from the state just like the state must divorce itself from the LC together with all its classical state and executive-management functions. This is one of the prerequisites for a real transformation of the party into the LC, and of the state into a competent, legal state with developed forms of democratic control. Of course, this kind of orientation demands further elaboration and needs to be confirmed in practice as the ultimate arbiter.

The problem of democratization of the LC is very important to the LC and for its activities as set out by the program. After all, this is evident from the following two stands in the LC Program:

The entire history of evolution of the workers class is based on the clashes of views and opinions. Differences in the views on theoretical and practical matters are an expression of a dialectical contradiction between practice and views. These clashes express all the complexity of a transitional period, the rigidity of old views, the spasm of a society which is leaving the stage of history, and the conditions under which a new socialist society is born and will develop. Tranquility, like-mindedness, and harmony exist only in some metaphysical idea of the world. This is the first view. The second view is the warning that the belief that decrees represent everything that deforms the communists, weakens in them the feeling for responsibility toward the masses, and leads to lagging behind and regress because under such conditions the communists are losing the feel for the need to fight for their ideas and, thus, for the need to check on a daily basis the rightness of these convictions through practice and the struggle of opinions. This warning is especially important because in our sociopolitical and theoretical life, the problem of differences in ideological views and interests have their own meaning.

The fact is that many of these differences—economic, cultural, civilizational, national, religious, political—are also conditioned by ideology and history. Many of them have been articulated by the emergence of statism and bureaucratic voluntarism. This is why one should not lose one's head. One should be tolerant toward them and should be patient in overcoming them. During their realization many ideas and visions contained in the program faced difficult obstacles and compromises because the conditions and situations in Yugoslavia are diverse, specific, and real, and because we did not take them into account sufficiently.

I must stress again that a certain ideological stand contributed to this, namely that our unity and togetherness have not been particularly tolerant toward those things that are very different and those things that had their roots and political culture more in an authoritarian and patriarchical heritage than in democratic achievements.

A particularly interesting question among the problems concerning the democratization of society is the question of pluralism within the LC and the relationship between the process of democratization and this pluralism. The LC exists in a socialist pluralistic environment. The democratization of the internal relations demands a new quality in the internal life of the party, a possibility to articulate and face different views, a struggle of opinions, a possibility for a dynamic gathering together of the members of different organizations to discuss questions or problems, and so forth. This also assumes a critical reexamination of the existing concepts and practice of the principles of democratic centralism, the organizational direction, the relationship between the majority and minority, and so forth. In this sense one can speak of "internal pluralism" in the LC. In a certain way this exists today, but in a form of a clash between different political and interest monoliths.

Democracy and Surrogates

The democratization of the LC without "pluralism outside the party" would be a surrogate to the democratization and would intensify clashes among the LC monolithic parts. The real ideopolitical pluralism, because it is unable to express itself in society, would be pushed into the LC at the expense of the necessary minimum of its ideopolitical identity. Other citizens would be passive observers or would be the destructive element of the pressure on the LC.

"Pluralism outside the party" has its roots in the pluralism of self-managing interests and in something that is much more important, the radical transformation of the LC.

Speaking about the methods of a democratic struggle of opinions in the LC, which, if not respected, undermines unity in the LC and creates factionalism, in 1976 Kardelj demanded that a clear distinction be made between what is permitted and what is not. He rightly pointed out that this was a matter of the feeling of every Communist, and that "questioning the leading role of the LC by breaking it into many centers, groups, factions which would be in a mutual clash" would be the limit which must not be exceeded. The best "cure," as Kardelj stressed repeating Tito's view, was that "we must become bolder in opening up new prospectives in the development of our socialist society." If this is lacking, then " 'leaders' and 'bosses' would be created all over Yugoslavia, everywhere, from factories upwards." One should also bear in mind the fact that a crisis always creates new dangers and possibilities for shortcuts.

The LC itself is not spared this clash. The strengthening of democratic tendencies is extremely important. They are a real chance for a creative renewal of the meaning and prospects of socialism. Otherwise we would be exposed to what Krleza called "the legalized murder of all human intelligence."